

# PEACE NEWS

The International Pacifist Weekly

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## Appeal from a leading Indian statesman CAN NUCLEAR WAR BE LIMITED?

By C. Rajagopalachari  
Governor-General of India 1948-50; Prime Minister of Madras 1937-39

MILITARY activities in research on both sides at present appear to be assiduously engaged in the designing of relatively milder nuclear weapons.

The race for destructive capacity has defeated its own purpose. So now the object is to produce weapons which while serving to destroy on a more extensive and effective scale than conventional weapons will yet not be so greatly destructive as to invite reprisals from the other side against city populations.

The idea is to utilise nuclear energy for warfare but to tame it to a lower level in order to keep off the total horror.

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The capacity of these is so monstrous that compared to them the Hiroshima and Nagasaki bombs are mere children's toys.

All this wealth of satanic weapons has, however, achieved nothing, for their very power of total destruction bars their

In this Labour Party Conference issue

ACLAND, BROCKWAY, HALE, MINNIE PALLISTER

TEN MPs, G. D. H. COLE and Dr. SOPER back this

# PEACE POLICY FOR LABOUR

End call-up, disarm, wage war on want  
examine use of non-violent resistance

PEACE NEWS REPORTER

A LABOUR Peace Fellowship policy statement issued today challenges the Labour Party to adopt "a new and revolutionary approach to the problems of peace and world abundance."

The statement has the backing of ten MPs, Professor G. D. H. Cole and Dr. Donald Soper, and reflects the views of a growing number of Labour Party members, both pacifist and non-pacifist, attached to the Labour Peace Fellowship.

The statement, "Total Peace: A challenge to Labour", which appears in full on page five, calls, among other things, for:

An abandonment of the now discredited policy of collective security;

The ending of conscription;

A war on want;

Unilateral disarmament; and

A full examination of the methods of non-violent resistance to tyranny "as a substitute for reliance on armaments."

A number of detailed steps are outlined which would secure a relaxing of world tension, the ending of

RECONCILIATION WITH TSHEKEDI

Seretse and Ruth going home

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By Hugh J. Schonfield

Historian of the Suez Canal; author of "The Suez Canal in World Affairs".

ON August 14, two days before the London Conference met, The Times published a letter from me setting out my proposals for the equitable settlement of the Suez Canal dispute. The proposals



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All this wealth of satanic weapons has, however, achieved nothing, for their very power of total destruction bars their use. The law that makes human wishes vain has operated.

Hence the present drive is for the making and testing of weapons that can be considered "usable."

The objective is to make bombs as well as the means of effectively delivering them, such as will confound and incapacitate the enemy without enraging him to the point of an insane reprisal involving city populations.

The hope is that a nuclear war can be designed which will not mean the wiping out of civilization as predicted by the scientists. Professor Raymond Aron appears to think that this is possible. But the hard truth is that war in the atomic age cannot be limited in this manner.

It is axiomatic that the use of nuclear explosives, even if either side starts with only the milder types, will lead to the total horror that is sought to be avoided.

The belligerent who feels he is in a dangerously inferior position will surely have recourse to what is sought to be kept out of the programme. The attack on city targets with high-grade thermo-nuclear bombs is bound to follow.

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**STRONG OPPOSITION**

# examine use of non-violent resistance

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A full examination of the methods of non-violent resistance to tyranny "as a substitute for reliance on armaments."

A number of detailed steps are outlined which would secure a relaxing of world tension, the ending of military blocs, freedom for all colonies and the reform of UN.

A significant and new factor in post-war British peace activity is the fact that the statement has won support from both pacifists and non-pacifists in the Labour Party.

The ten MPs who had indicated their

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## RECONCILIATION WITH TSHEKEDI

### Seretse and Ruth going home

From Fenner Brockway MP

**A**GREEMENT has been reached between Tshekedi and Seretse Khama. Seretse and his English wife will be returning to Bechuanaland.

In my view Peace News has contributed towards this by its helpful withdrawal of the pamphlet "What Seretse's Exile Means" while negotiations were going on.

The agreement has been accepted by the Commonwealth Relations Office. The basis of it is that a democratic system will be set up in Bechuanaland with District Councils and both Tshekedi and Seretse Khama will have full liberty to take part in them.

The Commonwealth Relations Office has insisted that Rasebolai should be Chairman of Bamangwato District Council during the transitional period.

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## For Total Peace

Left to right:  
Frank Allaun,  
John Rankin,  
Walter Mons-  
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## There's still time for my

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Historian of the Suez Canal; author of "The Suez Canal in World Affairs".

**ON** August 14, two days before the London Conference met, The Times published a letter from me setting out my proposals for the equitable settlement of the Suez Canal dispute. These proposals were informed by personal knowledge acquired as historian of the Canal and its affairs during the past twenty years, and represented a strictly impartial approach to the problem.

The Conference should have made a careful study of the Six Points I put forward. Instead, the idea of internationalisation in a most unsatisfactory form was pressed without any apparent realisation by those responsible that its rejection by Colonel Nasser was inevitable. The decision of the 18 Powers as conveyed to Cairo by the Committee of five, led by Mr. Menzies, offered no basis for negotiation at all.

### Menzies useless journey

Following that useless journey a project was presented to Parliament to implement the Conference majority decision by the formation of a Canal Users Association to operate and maintain the Canal, subject to the co-operation of Egypt, with again the foregone conclusion that this scheme would also be rejected. The debate from both sides of the House was conducted with quite extraordinary lack of insight, the Opposition offering nothing of any constructive value. At the time I am writing, a second London Conference is studying a draft plan for the Users Association, which is likely in a somewhat modified form to be adopted and presented to Egypt. Its acceptance is hardly to be expected, and the situation may then become really grave.

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# Where we went wrong in the Middle East





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## STRONG OPPOSITION TO CONSCRIPTION

### Peace issues at L.P. Conference

NO less than 34 resolutions calling for the immediate abolition of conscription are to be found on the Agenda for the Fifty-fifth Annual Conference of the Labour Party, to be held at the Empress Ballroom, Winter Gardens, Blackpool, from October 1-5. This in addition to a further twelve or so which in calling for an all-over plan of disarmament imply, if they do not state, the ending or drastic reduction in the term of national service.

An interesting feature of foreign policy resolutions in general is the number which couple disarmament with aid for the underdeveloped countries.

The continuance of nuclear weapons tests comes in for severe stricture. Six resolutions devoted to this point alone, demand that "in the best interests of humanity" these tests be banned and hydrogen and atomic power harnessed to peaceful purposes.

Highlight of the week for pacifists is the meeting in the Jubilee Theatre at 7.45 p.m. on the Monday, organised by the Labour Peace Fellowship, at which Dr. Donald Soper, Ted Redhead, MP, and Eileen Fletcher will be speaking. The Chairman is Victor Yates, MP.

Other meetings of interest include those arranged by the Movement for Colonial Freedom, and the Campaign for the Limitation of Secret Police Powers (both on Tuesday).

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# Where we went wrong in the Middle East

WHEN we condemn Conservatives for their incompetent Suez zig-zag between military threat and diplomatic climb-down, I suppose they are entitled to ask us what we would have done if we had been governing the country.

And when we are asked this question we are entitled to give the Irishman's answer when he was asked how to go to Roscommon. "Ah, sure," says he, "if I wanted to go to Roscommon I wouldn't start from here."

Going back no further than the end of the Second World War, what a tragedy it is that the leaders of the British people could not then feel the great world-current of the middle twentieth century.

In speaking of leaders, I am not only thinking of members of cabinets and shadow cabinets; I include also such men as our ambassadors, our top permanent officials in Treasury and Foreign Office, the editors of the influential journals and periodicals, the governors of banks, the leading professors of universities, the bishops and archbishops and all the rest who make up what is called our "responsible influential opinion."

These did not effectively feel the force which is driving the emerging leaders of goodness knows how many tens of millions of black and brown and yellow people who are determined

for an colonies and the reform of UN.

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that their countries shall march into the twenty-first century independent, with mastery of contemporary technology, and without the white man standing on their necks militarily, politically, financially or any other way whatever.

## By Sir RICHARD ACLAND

Labour MP for Gravesend from November 1947, resigned in March, 1955, in protest against the making of the hydrogen bomb by Britain. He is at present teaching.

Labour Party statesmen felt the force of this current and made it effective upon policy in India, Pakistan, Burma and Ceylon; the world is permanently in their debt.

How sad that we did not, in 1946, show the same courage and vision in the Middle East.

How different would have been our position today if we had then proclaimed the need for internationalising not only Suez, but all the Middle Eastern oil.

Instead of conniving at the frequent misapplication of vast oil royalties by corrupt dynasties, why could we not have been foremost in proclaiming the ways in which they could have been better used for the benefit of ordinary people throughout the whole region?

Of course we should have had against us the ruling princes of some of the Middle Eastern countries. But why not? We could have taken the lead in exposing their corruption; and we could have built up around every outpost of British activity a network of talking and planning centres for the kind of men who have swept away, or will shortly sweep away the old decaying powers.

Why did we not take a gamble on the high possibility that Neguib could do about the same for Egypt as Attaturk has done for Turkey?

He overthrew a king—a corrupt and rotten king, but still a king; this, I understand, is the unforgivable sin in Winston Churchill's eyes. And so, instead of a quick agreement on economic aid and on the evacuation of Suez, we turned him and his supporters into our enemies, and incidentally crawled out from Suez, months later, on much worse terms than we could have had by an essay in speedy generosity.

Raising our eyes from the Middle East to the world horizon, why have we always been amongst the most timidly stingy and never amongst the more courageously generous over technical and economic aid to underdeveloped countries?

The technical assistance crisis came in 1952 when assistance had to be drastically cut back

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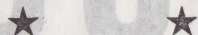
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### END THE WARFARE STATE

ON page five we print a statement issued by the Labour Peace Fellowship for circulation at the Labour Party Conference.

In the list of "immediate steps" there is not a great deal with which the average Labour Party representative would find any difficulty, although he might take more licence in the interpretation of the vaguer passages than the Peace Fellowship would consider desirable.

These "immediate steps", however, are far from being the most important part of the document, which is, as it claims to be, a challenge to Labour; and we hope that members of the Labour Party into whose hands it falls will pay more careful attention to the general contents of the statement than to this programme of immediate steps, which they are likely to take more or less for granted.



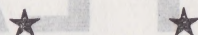
"LET us bury the warfare state," say the writers, and the appeal here is for welfare as against warfare.

It is true that in the tremendous canalisation of labour and resources into war preparation (the labour, in fact, of about one-tenth of our working population) we waste much that could be devoted to human betterment.

Until the final war of atomic destruction arrives, however, the welfare state and the warfare state are not incompatible, as we have been able to observe. Indeed, in a period of organisation for total warfare, "welfare" can become primarily a function of war preparation. An examination of the circumstances of the development of our social services will show this to be so.

What is truly incompatible with the warfare state is the exercise of the will of a free people in the development of its social forms and its industrial methods. The development of the social and industrial forms based on the new conceptions of human dignity that organised labour at one time sought to bring into politics has become impossible because these aspirations have had to be subordinated to efficient war preparation in a period of total war.

The idea of a co-operative commonwealth of free citizens working together for the common good has had to give way to the leviathan state with an increasing centralisation of power efficiently organised for "defence" against other leviathans similarly subordinating human values to efficiency for military ends. That is the true character of the warfare state.



THE problem of the hydrogen bomb is a moral one that Socialists ought not to try to evade, say the LPF, and a decision that we cannot endorse the use of the H-bomb has its consequences in regard to weapons in general, for "if war breaks out it is sheer complacency to imagine that the H-bomb would never be used."

The LPF quoted the appeal made in July, 1955, by Bertrand Russell and the world scientists associated with him:

"The time has arrived for an abandonment of violence as an instrument of foreign policy by turning away from war and military power politics. Such a step is not without risks but they are no greater



THE second London Suez Canal Conference has brought forth a much milder Canal Users Association than intended by France and Britain; and even that, now to be transformed by a third conference from a generalisation into a definite organisation, has not been greeted with all-round approval.

For France, the proposals are not sufficiently specific on the "principle of international management" of the Canal; for more than one reluctantly agreeing other nation they are still too unaccommodating; and for America they are mainly a safeguard against the use of force.

But in spite of the watering-down of the original intentions, nothing like an equitable basis for free negotiation has yet been conceded. Instead of being compelled by military measures, Egypt is now to be coerced by financial and economic pressure.

### Under duress

THIS would be legitimate if President Nasser had refused negotiation. But he has not done so. He has always asked for it himself and refused only one thing: to limit the negotiations to terms laid down by the first London Conference.

The most offensive part of the new proposals is that all passage tolls should be paid to the Canal Users Association, to deprive Egypt of the part (about 40 per cent) received by her since the nationalisation. If this becomes fact, Egypt will be negotiating in any talks which may result under duress. Everybody knows that this kind of compulsion would give the French and British Governments a great deal of pleasure, because they are far more concerned about humiliating the Egyptian President than they are worried about the proper administration of the Canal.

### Lennox-Boyd's broadcast

IT cannot be repeated often enough that Egypt has committed no illegal act by nationalising the Canal and that she has done nothing what-

decision to submit the dispute to the Security Council.

### Visitors from Russia

WE hope that Ulanova and the Bolshoi Ballet will find some way to retract the threat contained in their letter to Izvestia, and that they will not cause the disappointment, inconvenience and loss that will be the consequence of the carrying out of this threat not to visit London.

If, as is likely, the Russian Government is behind the action that has been taken by the Bolshoi dancers it is making a profound mistake.

It is blowing up into a major cause of bad feeling an incident that would have had little permanent consequence if it had been demonstrated in Court

### Suez

### Nina Ponomareva Gold Coast Liberalism

that Nina Ponomareva had actually taken the hats without paying for them, and if, as is probable, it had been demonstrated that the whole thing was a complete mistake there need have been no ill consequences at all.

### Rigging the law

THIS is probably an outstanding example of the incapacity of one people to understand another that has different traditions.

It would probably be difficult to convince the Russians that it is the most liberal-minded of the British people who would regret to see any rigging of the processes of law because it was the wish of the Executive that it should be so; but this is the truth.

Where a Government can subvert the law to release someone without trial it can also do so to secure that

Colonial Secretary was right to act upon that indication without waiting for further consultation through the constituent assembly that had been proposed earlier.

### Their own values

THE extent of the problem of the protection of the customs and cultures of the different peoples of the territory, however, is added to by the fact that the Western portion of the former German colony of Togoland, which has been administered as part of the Gold Coast as a Trust Territory by Britain, has declared in a majority vote in a plebiscite under UN control for union with Ghana.

Here as in the Gold Coast there are different desires in different districts, and although the overall majority was for union with Ghana, in the Southern district taken by itself there was a majority against.

The people here, the Ewe tribe, would prefer to be united with their fellow tribesmen in the portion of Togoland that has been administered by France.

We well remember a fine declaration made by Dr. Nkrumah in which he declared that the peoples of Africa had their own values that they wished to retain, despite the fact that there were also things that they might learn from the West.

Frankly we hope that one of the tendencies of the West that will be rejected is the passion for centralisation, and that we shall see evidence of this in the policies of Dr. Nkrumah's government.

### No challenge from Liberals

THOSE who see freedom and democracy more and more difficult to secure in a world of large-scale political and industrial organisation, are inclined to look hopefully for a revival of Liberalism.

Expectations in this direction seem invariably doomed to disappointment.

There is not to be found in political Liberalism today any inspiring

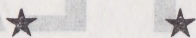


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The LPF quoted the appeal made in July, 1955, by Bertrand Russell and the world scientists associated with him:

"The time has arrived for an abandonment of violence as an instrument of foreign policy by turning away from war and military power politics. Such a step is not without risks but they are no greater than those of the existing world race in thermo-nuclear weapons."

The statement urges that disarmament could be used as an appropriate instrument of change by Socialists.

"Let the disarmament race start now! For Socialist disarmament should be a major objective, not something to follow a settlement of the world's political disputes. Capitalist economies, particularly that of the USA, rely on armament production to maintain full employment, but in a Socialist Society there need be no such barriers to disarmament."

It is urged that resources released should be diverted to aid poorer nations and that the guiding principle for British policy in the United Nations should be the establishment of a World Development Authority that will approach this problem on a world scale.

The statement recalls the uncompromising stand that was taken by the early pioneers of the Labour movement against war and militarism and quotes Keir Hardie's appeal to Socialist internationalism:

"War is murder. When the workers defy the call of governments to murder each other, there will be no more war"; and it ends with a call to the Labour Movement to study the "methods of non-violent resistance to tyranny... as a substitute for reliance on armaments".

There must be many members of the Labour Party who have reached the conclusion that continuation on present lines of policy can only lead to the stultification of Labour aims. They may find in this statement the indication of a new direction in policy that they have been seeking.

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## Lennox-Boyd's broadcast

**IT** cannot be repeated often enough that Egypt has committed no illegal act by nationalising the Canal and that she has done nothing whatever to offend against the only international engagement involved in the issue: the 1888 Convention.

She has not only lived up scrupulously to its provisions but also suggested a general users' conference to discuss its possible transformation into a treaty subject to United Nations supervision.

As for Mr. Lennox-Boyd's reference in his political broadcast of last Saturday to the Egyptian engineers stationed at the British-owned dam which controls the Nile waters reaching Egypt, does he really not know the difference between a firm agreement between two sovereign nations and the legal position between a sovereign state and a commercial company registered under that state's laws?

In the meantime, we can welcome the fact that the unpublished differences of feeling between the participants in the second Conference have led to the belated Anglo-French

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Where a Government can subvert the law to release someone without trial it can also do so to secure that an innocent person shall be charged and convicted.

All this may seem to be in the nature of government to the Russians, but the whole idea is one that profoundly shocks the more liberal-minded among the English.

## Good news

**"I** WISH to convey to the Government and the people of the country our heartfelt good wishes for its future success," writes the Colonial Secretary announcing legislation to establish the Gold Coast as an independent state within the Commonwealth.

Coming in the middle of a sorry story of Britain's relations in general with peoples struggling to control their own lives these are very good words to read.

It is intended that independence shall date from March 6, 1957. It is the desire of the Gold Coast people that their territory shall be known as Ghana, and this is being provided for in the necessary legislation.

Despite a considerable body of opinion in favour of a federal arrangement of autonomous areas the Convention Peoples Party won a majority of seats at the last election and actually gained a majority in the areas where the federation conception

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There is not to be found in political Liberalism today any inspiring challenge that could bring men new zest and enthusiasm.

Liberals are marked much more by what they dislike in the parties they would seek to challenge than by any distinct positive appeal that could bring a new warmth and inspiration into politics.

## Dislike is not a policy

**WHATEVER** may be the outcome of the Conference of the Liberal Party at Hastings, the recent Conference of the Liberal International at Stresa was marked by the same sterility that has been its dominant feature in recent years.

Its principal characteristic is dislike of the totalitarian regimes, a dislike that is fully justified, but which is not enough to make a policy.

It is true too, as was declared by resolution, that the Liberal principle that calls for emancipation of nations "must not be twisted into forms of nationalism and totalitarianism resulting in tyranny and misery of peoples." As, however, it had nothing more encouraging to say to peoples who are rejecting imperialism, and who may be hyper-sensitive about whether it may be imposed on them in new forms, than nagging of this kind we do not feel surprised that there is a

## Integration in schools cannot be stopped

### LETTER FROM USA

by A. J. Muste

**THE** struggle over integration in the public schools here and over the Suez Canal abroad continue to get

The struggle in Clinton was between whites and whites—not Negroes. The big city of Louisville, Kentucky, went



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"Let the disarmament race start now! For Socialist disarmament should be a major objective, not something to follow a settlement of the world's political disputes. Capitalist economies, particularly that of the USA, rely on armament production to maintain full employment, but in a Socialist Society there need be no such barriers to disarmament."

It is urged that resources released should be diverted to aid poorer nations and that the guiding principle for British policy in the United Nations should be the establishment of a World Development Authority that will approach this problem on a world scale.

The statement recalls the uncompromising stand that was taken by the early pioneers of the Labour movement against war and militarism and quotes Keir Hardie's appeal to Socialist internationalism:

"War is murder. When the workers defy the call of governments to murder each other, there will be no more war"; and it ends with a call to the Labour Movement to study the "methods of non-violent resistance to tyranny... as a substitute for reliance on armaments".

There must be many members of the Labour Party who have reached the conclusion that continuation on present lines of policy can only lead to the stultification of Labour aims. They may find in this statement the indication of a new direction in policy that they have been seeking.

## Integration in schools cannot be stopped

### LETTER FROM USA

by A. J. Muste

THE struggle over integration in the public schools here and over the Suez Canal abroad continue to get major space in the Press, and deservedly so. I want to say a couple of things about each.

The struggle over the former is by no means over, but some things are taking place which indicate that the prophecy I ventured to make many months ago to the effect that integration of our public schools may be delayed but cannot be stopped, still stands up.

One of the very crucial factors in the situation is that Southerners themselves are not united in their opposition.

Robert Cannon, Mid-south Regional Secretary of the American Fellowship of Reconciliation, reported at our National Conference in Chicago about Clinton, Tennessee from which he had just come and where he had been present at the tense moment when it appeared that the mob would take over the town.

He said that even at that juncture the huge crowd gathered in court house square was plainly divided into two parts.

There was an inside group clearly whipped into frenzy by the speakers, and probably ready for desperate action, but a much larger group around them who might indeed have gone along if the mob had broken loose, but also

obviously were apprehensive and not really deeply stirred.

The town and school authorities had fought integration in the courts but when they lost, decided to put it into effect without equivocating.

The white high school students led by the football captain came to school and when crowds hostile to Negro students began to form, protected the latter.

### "It hurt to watch"

When the mob, largely recruited from outside, grew big one day and a Negro boy on his way home had to run the gauntlet of cruel insults and threats to "kill the nigger" a white boy watched from the school window. Afterwards he said: "It was unreal—like watching a movie, only it hurt to watch."

Under the threat of the mob, a good many white parents told their children to stay home from school. The latter in not a few cases slipped out of the house as soon as they got a chance and went to school.

The father of a girl who was a member of the high school band insisted she could not stay in school with Negroes. Tears streamed down her cheeks as she raced down the corridor and out of Clinton High School.

issue: the 1888 Convention.

She has not only lived up scrupulously to its provisions but also suggested a general users' conference to discuss its possible transformation into a treaty subject to United Nations supervision.

As for Mr. Lennox-Boyd's reference in his political broadcast of last Saturday to the Egyptian engineers stationed at the British-owned dam which controls the Nile waters reaching Egypt, does he really not know the difference between a firm agreement between two sovereign nations and the legal position between a sovereign state and a commercial company registered under that state's laws?

In the meantime, we can welcome the fact that the unpublished differences of feeling between the participants in the second Conference have led to the belated Anglo-French

The struggle in Clinton was between whites and whites—not Negroes. The big city of Louisville, Kentucky, went on a fully integrated school basis a couple of weeks ago without any incident.

In this connection, President Eisenhower finally abandoned his neutralist position and took a clear stand against segregation.

Largely responsible for the successful institution of the new regime in Kentucky's metropolis was Dr. Omer Carmichel, its superintendent of schools. He spent two years, beginning with the Supreme Court decision of 1954, to prepare for integration with the co-operation of teachers, parents and children.

Said President Eisenhower at a recent Press conference:

"I think Mr. Carmichael must be a very wise man. I hope to meet him and to get some advice from him as to exactly how he did it, because he pursued the policy that I believe will finally bring success in this."

Above all, the beautiful courage of many Negro parents and children must be taken into account when we express confidence that segregation cannot last.

In Clay, Kentucky, where for the time being white children are not going to school, because their parents say they must not go to school with Negroes, two lone Negro children

★ ON PAGE SIX

the nature of government to the Russians, but the whole idea is one that profoundly shocks the more liberal-minded among the English.

## Good news

"I WISH to convey to the Government and the people of the country our heartfelt good wishes for its future success," writes the Colonial Secretary announcing legislation to establish the Gold Coast as an independent state within the Commonwealth.

Coming in the middle of a sorry story of Britain's relations in general with peoples struggling to control their own lives these are very good words to read.

It is intended that independence shall date from March 6, 1957. It is the desire of the Gold Coast people that their territory shall be known as Ghana, and this is being provided for in the necessary legislation.

Despite a considerable body of opinion in favour of a federal arrangement of autonomous areas the Convention Peoples Party won a majority of seats at the last election and actually gained a majority in the areas where the federation conception has the strongest hold.

We believe, therefore, that the

Liberals are marked more by what they dislike in the parties they would seek to challenge than by any distinct positive appeal that could bring a new warmth and inspiration into politics.

## Dislike is not a policy

WHATEVER may be the outcome of the Conference of the Liberal Party at Hastings, the recent Conference of the Liberal International at Stresa was marked by the same sterility that has been its dominant feature in recent years.

Its principal characteristic is dislike of the totalitarian regimes, a dislike that is fully justified, but which is not enough to make a policy.

It is true too, as was declared by resolution, that the Liberal principle that calls for emancipation of nations "must not be twisted into forms of nationalism and totalitarianism resulting in tyranny and misery of peoples."

As, however, it had nothing more encouraging to say to peoples who are rejecting imperialism, and who may be hyper-sensitive about whether it may be imposed on them in new forms, than nagging of this kind we do not feel surprised that there is a notable absence of representatives from Asia and Africa.

## From the Editor's Notebook

### "No more war"

I HEAR that there was a great deal of support for Councillor Bill Reay's views that Labour's Policy should be "No more war under any circumstances," when the Suez crisis was discussed at last week's meeting of the Wimbledon (London) Constituency Labour Party.

Two motions, one an "emergency" for the Labour Party Conference, were passed overwhelmingly, declaring that in no circumstances should force be used. It was also agreed to hold a public protest meeting.

### Bombs from UN

A LONE critic who said that only a pacifist could vote for a motion declaring that in no circumstances should force be used, was told that it was about time pacifists stopped being as unpopular in the Labour Party as in the country.

Someone had supported the official "Party line" that the Suez dispute should go to the United Nations and Councillor Reay commented that he might agree if someone could show him that an atom bomb dropped by

UNO was less murderous than one dropped by a sovereign country.

Finally a motion was put congratulating the stand Gaitskell, Robens and Attlee had taken on Suez. It was defeated.

### David Hoggett

A WIDE circle of friends in the work-camp movement were dismayed when they heard that David Hoggett had met with a serious accident in Austria.

A fall from a roof broke his spine and he is now in Lodge Moor Hospital (Ward 4, South), Sheffield, having been flown back to England on September 15.

Many friends visited this young serviceman - turned - conscientious - objector while he was in Austria, among them Abbe Pierre who has been touring work-camp projects this summer.

David's mother wants all her son's many friends in Britain, the USA and India to know that letters will be welcome despite the fact that, for the time being, David will have to dictate replies.

"Alert and very cheerful," was how a friend found him on Monday.



## "NO WAR" STRIKE URGED BY LABOUR PEACE FELLOWSHIP

A ONE-HOUR stoppage of work to demonstrate opposition to a war over Suez has been called for by the Executive of the Labour Peace Fellowship in the second of two resolutions passed last week.

The LPF membership includes 15 MPs. The resolutions, passed at a meeting of the Executive at the House of Commons last week, read:

1 The Labour Peace Fellowship urges a negotiated, peaceful settlement of the Suez Canal Crisis. It calls attention to the obligations of Britain, France and Egypt under Article 2 and Articles 33 to 38 of the Charter of the United Nations, which enjoins peaceful negotiations to preserve world peace. It welcomes the insistence of the Parliamentary Labour Party that the Suez Dispute should be referred to the United Nations.

The Fellowship deplores the show of force which followed Colonel Nasser's nationalisation of the Suez Canal Company and believes that negotiations cannot be conducted under the threat of armed intervention but only in the atmosphere of freedom and confidence. The Government plan for the proposed Users' Association is a deliberate drive to war.

### For all waterways

The Labour Peace Fellowship urges a settlement based upon the nationalisation of the Suez Canal Company and the safeguarding of freedom of passage through the canal in a new international Convention. Steps should be taken to ensure technical efficiency and the imposition of reasonable dues upon users. Any agreement should be registered with the United Nations.

The Fellowship believes that all international waterways should be similarly safeguarded, wherever they are situated. Egypt should not be expected to support limitations of her sovereignty that others are not prepared to accept, and the LPF urges the British Government to proclaim its support for the international control of all such waterways.

Appreciating the urgency of preserving world peace and believing that plans should be made to attack human want and misery, in Egypt as elsewhere, the Fellowship affirms once again that the path to peace is not paved by military machines and forces, but by concerted action for the relief of man's estate. The Fellowship renews its faith in an international society where problems and disputes are settled by the force of argument rather than the force of arms.

### Betrayal

The use of force in Egypt would reveal to

## MISSIONARY'S H-TEST PROTEST

# It makes me feel ashamed of my nationality

PROTESTS against further tests of nuclear weapons by Britain, Russia and the USA, are growing.

- Feeling against British atomic tests is running high in Australia, according to the Sunday Express (Sept. 23, 1956). There are demands that the £6,000,000 atom range be no longer used.
- In Germany, according to a World Around Press report, radio-activity is moving to the fore as a political issue.
- From Ceylon, a Church Missionary Society missionary has written the following letter to the Manchester Guardian:

Sir,—It is reported that Britain intends to explode an H-bomb on Christmas Island, only 2,000 miles from here. A man who has a licence to keep a gun in his house is not allowed to shoot indiscriminately across his neighbour's land without his neighbour's consent. Neither should any nation carry on scientific experiments without any regard for the health and safety of smaller nations. If Britain and America tested their H-bombs in the Atlantic between Britain and America, the Eastern nations would have no complaint, but we know what has happened as a result of the Bikini Island tests. Not only have Japanese fishermen died, but fish have been contaminated, and Japan, which is a very much over-populated country and dependent on fish for food, has been deprived for a time at least of one of its main articles of diet. Is it surprising that Ceylon is perturbed at the prospect of bomb-testing on Christmas Island? Java and Sumatra have even more reason to be perturbed. Christmas Island is horribly near them. The Ceylon papers ask, "Why should we be made guinea-pigs without our consent?" The next step in the argument will be, though I have not yet seen it expressed, that this is all a deliberate plan to weaken the physique of the Asians and ensure permanent white supremacy.

### Safety of weaker nations

When Russia does things like this we lay the blame at the door of Communism, but Britain and America are so-called Christian nations. We condemned the Nazi leaders at Nuremberg with much publicity and self-righteousness. How then can we carry on our scientific investigations with such complete disregard of the health and safety of weaker nations who have done us no harm, who are not at war with us, and some of whom are members of the British Commonwealth, and as such entitled to claim our protection? It makes me feel ashamed of my nationality.

M. V. HUTCHINS, C.M.S.

Missionary in North Ceylon.

Karuna Nilayam, Kilinochchi,

system, and will monitor, around the clock, radioactivity in the atmosphere and in rainfall. Cities and small communities around the country will pool radiation monitoring data, much as they exchange weather information and will issue a co-ordinated radiation report and forecast for their respective areas. Such stations will be established at Kiel, Berlin, Emden, Hanover, Aachen, Essen, Frankfurt, Stuttgart and Nuremberg in addition to Munich.

The University of Munich is already conducting tests on farm animals suspected of contamination by radioactive fall-out and the Minister of Agriculture for Bavaria, Ludwig Baumgartner, recently informed the State legislature that "heavy radioactive rain-falls" have been recorded in that area. A series of Geiger-counter installations will soon go into action along the Rhine, compiling hour-by-hour charts on radioactive river waters, while West German insurance companies are beginning to write "nuclear risk" clauses into their policies and to provide indemnities for nuclear-induced catastrophes, ranging from the explosion of reactors to death from radiation.

### Radioactivity in the Rhine

The effect of radioactive rain-fall on crops is being studied for damage to plants and to soil and for injury to humans and farm animals due to consumption of contaminated crops. Scientists claim that increased radioactivity in the Rhine is absorbed by the algae which provide food for the fish and a study is under way to determine if radioactivity is transferred from such fish as the famous Rhine salmon to humans who consume it. Claims that dairy herds feeding on grass contaminated by radioactive dust are producing poisoned milk are also being checked.

Although the precise proportion of the peril of radioactivity is in dispute, the government recognises and is trying to stem the increasing anxiety of the public by carefully investigating each report or rumour of contamination.

## SUEZ: POVERTY IS REAL PROBLEM

The following statement was issued by the British Fellowship of Reconciliation on Monday:

THE General Committee of the Fellowship of Reconciliation has given earnest consideration to the serious international tension over the Suez Canal. It reaffirms the belief on which the Fellowship is founded that war is contrary to the spirit and teaching of Christ, and that Christians in every country are called to renounce force as a means of settling disputes between nations.

While these convictions forbid our condoning the use of armed force in any circumstances there is a background to the present dispute which makes the use or threat of force seem not only wrong but futile. One cannot forget that Egypt's nationalisation of the Canal Company, an action which though arbitrary has not been shown to be illegal, closely followed the withdrawal of American and British offers to help finance the Aswan Dam. It has been said that Egyptian control of the Canal is a grave danger to the standard of living in this and other Western countries. To say this is to exaggerate the position: there is an alternative route between Europe and the Middle East which could and doubtless will again be developed without crippling our economy. The control of the waters of the Nile is, however, an essential step in any plan for raising the appallingly low standard of living in Egypt. Extreme poverty and awakening nationalism are the two most important forces making for political instability in the Middle East. It was the latter which brought Colonel Nasser to power in Egypt: it is the former which confronts him with his greatest problem. If he were overthrown the same forces would throw up a successor who would have to face the same problem.

Wise statesmanship must seek to deal with this fundamental problem of poverty here as in other parts of the world. Britain's high standard of living would be drastically reduced by an outbreak of war. We believe that peace cannot be achieved without a comparable sacrifice and that we must offer to share our wealth and our knowledge in far greater measure than hitherto with those who need them, doing so with greater patience and understanding in order that the offer may not offend their national esteem. It is against this background that the threat of war is so wrong and so futile, and the need of a constructive policy so imperative.

## PACIFISTS DYNAMITED IN DEER



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### Betrayal

The use of force in Egypt would reveal to the world that Britain had no faith in the United Nations and no respect for its Charter formed "to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war." To such a betrayal the Labour Peace Fellowship, is firmly opposed.

The Labour Peace Fellowship notes with approval the protest of the TUC against the Government's threat of war and urges it to consider calling a one hour stoppage to demonstrate their opposition.

## TWO QUESTIONS ANSWERED



A NATION-WIDE Civil Defence Campaign has been planned to begin on September 29.

The Peace Pledge Union Campaign Committee has replied with a leaflet which shows by quotations from the Home Office Manual how impossible it is to provide

protection for millions of citizens if nuclear war starts.

It asks the question: "Who will defend them?" By implication the answer is "You and I", since the leaflet points out that the only security against the H-bomb comes through the renunciation of war, and we are responsible for spreading that truth.

Thousands of leaflets will be given away during the demonstrations and they have been supplied free to Peace Pledge Union Groups. But they cost 25s. a thousand, so the question is "Who will pay for them?" Again the answer is "You and I" if we really believe that it is essential to seize all such opportunities to spread the vital truth of pacifism.

That is only one activity sponsored by PPU Headquarters, and the PPU Headquarters Fund is responsible for providing nearly 20 per cent of the money raised and spent during 1956. Voluntary annual subscriptions provide over 40 per cent and the remaining 20 per cent comes from Group contributions and the annual appeal. In which category do you come?

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RADIOACTIVITY is moving to the fore as a major West German political issue. The Social Democrats charge the Bonn Government with reporting to the United Nations Health Organisation (WHO) that radioactivity had reached the danger point in West Germany, and quote Professor Bechert, physicist at the University of Mainz, as their source.

The Foreign Office denies that a report has been sent to the UN but does confirm that such data is being translated into a despatch for that purpose, although it refuses to discuss the contents of it. Franz Josef Strauss, head of the Ministry of Nuclear Energy, is also non-committal and confined his comment to the observation that "only in the high mountain areas is rainwater used for drinking purposes."

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Professor Bechert is trying to organise West German scientists behind a campaign to demand the cessation of nuclear weapons tests and recently asked this question of the authorities: "Is it not enough that drinking water supplies have been imperilled and that the radioactive danger mark in milk used for small children was exceeded months ago?" On the other hand, a majority of West German scientists dispute Bechert's charges and Professors Werner Heinseberg and Otto Hahn, two leading nuclear physicists, contend that radioactivity is not yet dangerously high.

Nevertheless, the Government is getting ready to put into operation in Munich the first of ten projected radioactivity warning stations. These will be linked to one another by means of a network similar to an air-raid warning

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## PACIFISTS DYNAMITED IN DEEP SOUTH RACE STRUGGLE

From RICHARD BAKER

BEING bombed, shot at, and receiving severe economic sanctions and a court injunction against its policies and inter-racial activities is the plight of Koinonia Farm, a pacifist Christian community, located at Americus, Georgia, in the South of the United States.

Opposed to racial segregation, Koinonia Farm is a community of about 60 people holding all property in common as the early Christians did.

Ten to 15 sticks of dynamite were exploded in front of the Koinonia Farm shop, July 23, causing \$3,000 damage, and pistol shots were fired other times at the store and community, because two Koinonia members tried to get two Negro students admitted to an all white state college, in accordance with the US Supreme Court ruling against segregation in schools.

Police arrived immediately after the bombing. No one was injured by it or the shootings, according to news letters received by this writer.

### Inter-racial camp

Following attempts to enroll the students, came insurance policy cancellations and refusals of many local businesses to buy from or sell to Koinonia Farm. Koinonia was served a court injunction against holding an inter-racial children's summer camp and from receiving visitors and members regardless of race. The news letters do not state whether the students were finally admitted. The camp, moved from the farm to Monteagle, Tennessee, opened on schedule.

Graciously received, Clarence Jordon and Harry Atkinson, Koinonia members, negotiated with the Georgia college system officials for admittance of the students. The officials promising to look into the matter, the two men returned to find that the State Governor had telephoned the local sheriff about them to ask what "this Jordon fellow" was doing.

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A local newspaper stirred up the racist element by carrying a story of the attempt to enrol the students.

The injunction against the camp was served on June 9, at first on health grounds. The County Health Engineer inspected the camp and made a few minor recommendations, immediately carried out.

Joined by four local white citizens, the court failed to lift the injunction, and is seeking a permanent injunction against the Koinonia Open Door Policy, and all other inter-racial aspects of the farm.

Hearings were held on July 2 and 19. Koinonia, unable to obtain one, was without an attorney. Another hearing was set for September 20. Koinonia finally succeeded in hiring an attorney from Atlanta, Georgia.

### Ku Klux Klan advocate

The court appointed Solicitor General Charles Burgamy, of Americus, Georgia, enemy of Koinonia Farm, and advocate of forming a local chapter of the Ku Klux Klan to "look into the law" concerning the injunction.

An airplane company refused to dust cotton on Koinonia Farm against boll weevil. An automobile service agency and a fertilizer company refused to deal with the community. Many merchants and individuals refused to purchase groceries from Koinonia.

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If in neither the second nor the third, you can help by a donation to the PPU Headquarters Fund, and as I am certain that you want to do your share, will you cover the cost of, say, 100, 500 or 1,000 leaflets by sending 2s. 6d., 12s. 6d., or 25s. this week?

**STUART MORRIS,**  
General Secretary.

Our aim for 1956: £1,150  
Amount received to date: £676

Donations to the Peace Pledge Union, which are used for the work of the PPU, should be sent marked "Headquarters Fund," to the PPU Treasurer at Dick Sheppard House, Endsleigh Street, London, W.C.1.

### I RENOUNCE WAR AND I WILL NEVER SUPPORT OR SANCTION ANOTHER

This pledge, signed by each member, is the basis of the Peace Pledge Union.

Send YOUR pledge to

**P.P.U. HEADQUARTERS,**

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## Hockey for whites only

**MR. J. N. BROWN**, Chairman of the Northern Rhodesia Hockey Board, is reported to have come under fire for his recent reference to Indians as "coolies."

He used the word to describe Indians in Durban at the Hockey Board meeting in Lusaka and threatened to resign if Indians were allowed to play representative hockey in the Territory.

Monze Indian Sports Club has telegraphed Mr. Brown telling him they are "profoundly provoked by his humiliating and racialistic remarks."

"We strongly condemn what you say in the light of the harmonious race relations of partnership upon which the foundation of the Federation relies," said the telegram. "We further insist you withdraw them."

"Pictures of housewives clad in aprons doing manual tasks about the house are out of place, since the majority of households employ Africans to do this work."—**M. A. Pedder** on Advertising in Central Africa, *World's Press News*, July 13, 1956.

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## Christmas Cards

Original 2 Colourful 2 Appropriate

- |                                          |                                                |
|------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------|
| 1. Before the Town—for children ... 2½d. | 6. International Card (in five languages) 4½d. |
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## BOOKS

### German generals

*Conspiracy Among Generals*, by Wilhelm von Schramm. Allen & Unwin, 16s.

By **HILDA VON KLENZE**

THIS book describes but one scene of a tragedy of errors which began ten years previously, when the officers who later conspired against Hitler, sold their souls to the devil thinking they could make him a tool to free Germany from the bondage of Versailles. Instead they found that they themselves were being made the tools of evil. Some of them revolted, some stuck to their bargain, all paid dearly, and the conspiracy was a failure.

"The history of July 20 (1944) is a mass of contradictions shot through with light and darkness," says the author who was Senior War Reporter in Paris when the pre-arranged code word "Finished" came over the wire from Berlin, and for a few blissful hours the conspirators believed that Hitler was dead and the way open for an honorable peace and a new Germany.

The sequence of events makes a fascinating story, and one cannot help admire the reckless courage shown by Field-Marshal von Kluge in the execution of what he conceived to be his duty, and almost unbearably moved by the fate of General von Stuepnagel who in the attempt to commit suicide destroyed his eyesight and was carefully nursed back to health only to be hanged in Berlin a blind and broken man. But there were really none of the contradictions the author mentions. What happened was due to the inexorable law that the means shall determine the end. It is the most tragic implication of this book that even if the conspirators had been successful there could have been no new Germany under the leadership of these decent, loyal, perhaps well-intentioned men, warped as they were by a military upbringing and tradition which caused them to take a responsible share in the ruin of a country for which they would gladly have died.

### African politics

*Black Power*, by Richard Wright. Dennis Dobson, 25s.

By **GEOFFREY CARNALL**

IN this book Richard Wright describes his visit to the Gold Coast in 1953. He is an American negro, but his colour turned out to be less important than the fact that he was an American.

His feelings are neatly summed up at the end of a description of a funeral. "I had understood nothing. I was black and they were black, but my blackness did not help me."

His speech at a Convention People's Party meeting got a feeble response. Over and over again he reminded the people he met that "self-reliance is the only sure way to freedom."

But, he remarks glumly, "I doubt if they grasped what I meant."

He was depressed by the suspicion of nothing in particular that he continually encountered, the morbid sensitivity. "You know," said one of the CPP's officers, "we black people have to be so careful. We don't have many friends. Everybody wants to hurt us. They come here and grin in our faces, and then they go away and make fun of us."

Richard Wright does not do this, but a subdued exasperation pervades the book, and emerges clearly in his concluding letter to the Gold Coast prime minister, Kwame Nkrumah.

Readers of Peace News will be horrified to learn that, in Wright's opinion, the only sensible course before West Africa is progress by regimentation. "Our people must be made to walk, forced draft, into the twentieth century!" he exclaims. "African life must be militarised!" Only thus, he argues, can the tribal cobwebs be brushed away, and a sense of purpose given to the lives of the people.

This seems to be an attempt to solve an intricate problem of social psychology by cutting a way out of it—a method which will not commend itself to psychologists. But it may commend itself to some people in West Africa, just as the military glamour of Subhas Bose makes a wide appeal in modern India. And for this reason alone, *BLACK POWER* should be read and reflected on by anyone who is concerned with the future relations of Europe and Africa.

### THREE FAITHS

*The Buddha, The Prophet and The Christ*, by F. H. Hilliard. Ethical and Religious Classics of East and West No. 16. Allen & Unwin, 12s. 6d.

By **ESME WYNNE-TYSON**

AT a time when the more intelligent type of religionist is tending to depart from man-worship to the consideration of Essence, it is a little difficult to estimate what purpose will be served by this short book of 166 pages containing biographical digests of Gotama the Buddha, Mohammed and Jesus Christ, and quoting, according to the author in his preface, "selected passages" from the appropriate scriptures, "which reflect the belief that the founder of the religion was not simply a human being but was possessed of supernatural qualities and characteristics."

For those familiar with these faiths the information given is already well-known, while those who are being introduced to them

## MINNIE PALLISTER . . .

### . . . and now for courage in international affairs

CENTENARIES are depressing things.

To realise that one actually *knew* a person the centenary of whose birth is being celebrated makes one feel like Methuselah.

I could not help being amused at the comments made on George Bernard Shaw by some of our bright young journalists.

My experience is probably the same as that of thousands of others, I began to think for myself after I began reading Shaw. Before that I had been told what to believe. This is right,

that is wrong, these men are good, those are evil, and so on.

Bernard Shaw dragged me by the hair through thorns and rocks, landed me panting on the top of a hill and said simply, "Look you fool."

He did not tell us what to believe, he showed us things as they were, and left us to make up our own minds. I am always reminded of the controversy after the man born blind received his sight, this was said, that was said, but the man himself said, "One thing I know, that whereas I was blind, now I see."

I felt much the same when I read the slightly patronising assessment of Keir Hardie's work. It was Keir Hardie who started me on my political career, writing me a card of encouragement after he had seen a little paragraph I wrote on Religion and Politics. "If those are your views" he wrote, "go ahead, and God speed."

IT is a humbling thought that because of Keir Hardie and Bernard Shaw, thousands of people who would be dead are now alive, thousands who would be living in poverty, squalor, and misery are living rich full lives. It makes me writhe with rage, when I hear people who really don't amount to much, passing facile judgments on men to whom they owe everything they are and have.

The papers were full of the wife who walked out on her family because they took her for granted. More power to her elbow (Though one cannot help asking was she not partly to blame for her pampered sons? May other mothers who wait hand and foot on their children take warning).

Taking things for granted, is one of our crimes.

IT is becoming more and more difficult for those who did not live through them, to visualise the early days of a political movement based solely on the Golden Rule, when in a political party, we expressed religion and pacifism, when we asked of any suggested economic or social change, simply, "Is it right?" If it was, then that was enough, it had to be done.

Would that those who take the fruits of this golden age in politics, were more aware of their value, and of the price which had to be paid. Perhaps we all tend to magnify the importance of the thing we ourselves are interested in, but I am sometimes amazed to find friends who are now working with me for peace, who seem to be completely unaware of

## A child's life of Gandhi

*In jail*

*Last week we read how Gandhi founded the Tolstoy Farm, after Tolstoy the great Russian writer, and how, when the others did wrong, he fasted in order to persuade them to act more wisely.*

ONE of the most beautiful things we can

learn from Gandhi's example is willingness to forgive those who do us harm. This was especially noticeable in him during his years in South Africa.

Among the many humiliations which Indians had to suffer in South Africa at that time was a law which obliged them to register their names with the Government and allow their finger prints to be taken just as if they were criminals.

When this law was passed, Gandhi led a resistance movement against it. Indians quietly but firmly refused to obey the law.

As a result, thousands of them were put in jail, including Gandhi himself.

This was the first jail sentence of his life. Later on he was to go to jail many times for his resistance to a foreign government's oppression of his people.

So many Indians were arrested that the jails became full. It was impossible to go on arresting people as there was no place to put them. General Smuts, the head of the South African government, said he would release all

AS TOLD BY GERTRUDE MURRAY TO



attempt to commit suicide destroyed his eyesight and was carefully nursed back to health only to be hanged in Berlin a blind and broken man. But there were really none of the contradictions the author mentions. What happened was due to the inexorable law that the means shall determine the end. It is the most tragic implication of this book that even if the conspirators had been successful there could have been no new Germany under the leadership of these decent, loyal, perhaps well-intentioned men, warped as they were by a military upbringing and tradition which caused them to take a responsible share in the ruin of a country for which they would gladly have died.

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And I think Mr. Chapin's book has 'The Snake Pit' beaten to the wide."—*Nancy Spain*.

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For those familiar with these faiths the information given is already well-known, while those who are being introduced to them through this collection of archaic legends and myths so alien to modern thought will hardly feel drawn to look further into teachings derived from such primitive sources, while to the credulous religionist the obvious likeness of the marvels accredited to all three world-teachers will come as a shock and a severe test to their sectarian faith.

Surely what is needed in books of this type today is a concentration on the Essence of all these great faiths, revealing the sense of direction provided by their founders, as, for instance, the emphasis placed by both the Buddha and the Christ on the necessity for harmlessness and non-violence, and the mutual vision shared by Jesus and Mohammed of a brotherhood of man under the government of the Highest, thus establishing peace on earth. But no mention of these all-important policies are found in this book.

Incidentally the author makes an extraordinary mistake on pages 125 and 152 where he states that Paul was responsible for the belief in Christ's pre-existence, a teaching which came directly and explicitly from Jesus himself in the words which so infuriated the Jews that they tried to stone him: "Before Abraham was, I am."

## SEEN BY A SETTLER

*Basic British*, by Victor Ross. Max Parrish, 10s. 6d.

By **FRANK DAWTRY**

*BASIC BRITISH* describes the experiences of a refugee alien in gaining his understanding of British ways. He was detained during the war and shipped off to Canada, only to be interviewed and returned here to enlist in the Pioneer Corps so that he never had the chance to serve the country as he had wished—

in poverty, squalor, and misery are living rich full lives. It makes me writhe with rage, when I hear people who really don't amount to much, passing facile judgments on men to whom they owe everything they are and have.

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### AS TOLD BY GERTRUDE MURRAY TO THE CHILDREN OF INDIA

those who had been arrested and withdraw the new registration order, if at least a good number of Indians would register of their own free will.

Gandhi felt that this was a big step in the right direction and agreed to register. He was always too wise to expect people to give in at once, no matter how wrong they were. Little by little he would try to bring them to their senses.

If they gave in on one point, he would give in on another.

This generous and reasonable way of behaving seldom failed to win people's hearts in the end.

A NUMBER of Indians went with Gandhi to register themselves, but on the way a group of Pathans stopped them.

Pathans are very brave and proud people, and these Pathans felt that it would degrade them to yield even an inch to the Government. They were angry with Gandhi for giving in. They could not understand that he was acting wisely and for their good.

They were led by a man called Mir Alam. This man hit Gandhi on the head and he fell unconscious. Some time before he had been stoned and kicked in the streets by the mob of white people who wrongly fancied him to be their enemy. Now he was being beaten by his own people who also fancied him to be their enemy.

It is often so with the good people of this world. Real unselfish goodness is so uncommon that men cannot understand it when they find it. It seems too wonderful to be true, and they fear it must be evil hiding behind an appearance of goodness.

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Would that those who take the fruits of this golden age in politics, were more aware of their value, and of the price which had to be paid. Perhaps we all tend to magnify the importance of the thing we ourselves are interested in, but I am sometimes amazed to find friends who are now working with me for peace, who seem to be completely unaware of the revolution worked by the Socialist movement in this country.

Other working-class movements were often contemptuous of us, they could not believe that a movement with no hatred, no bitterness, no envy, no desire to kill landowners, financiers, mine-owners, could possibly be sincere.

Our methods of doing things by consent, was too slow, too old-fashioned, too milk and water. Those of us who held aloof from methods of expropriation, violence, bloodshed, were called old applewomen, if not traitors to the working-class.

Some of us have lived to see the vindication of our faith in good will, education, Parliamentary democracy. In so far as we were true to The Spirit, we have received the fruits of the spirit, while those who turned aside to methods of violence, groan under tyrannies which hold them in their grip.

We were the political fools of our day, just as we are looked upon by so-called "realists" as pacifist fools today. If we live long enough, we shall see that just as God's way worked in national affairs when we had the courage to try it, so God's way will work in international affairs, when we have the courage to try it.

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# FREEDOM FOR CYPRUS

by

*Christopher Lake*



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"Few of us know anything about what happens in mental homes; about the demands that are made on the staffs, day in and day out; of what Mr. Chapin calls 'the anteroom of hell' in which many of their patients live. For that reason alone I hope this book will be widely read."—*Oxford Mail.*

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His skits and satire are on our army life, our habit of understatement, our spelling and our plumbing, our hospitals and their matrons, our concern with the weather (no longer funny) and our use of sport as a principal topic of conversation. I regret to say that in his wide range Mr. Ross comes perilously near to making fun of cricket. This is a very serious matter.

It has all been done before, by Englishmen and Scotsmen who are better laughing at themselves than at being laughed at by settlers. We enjoy reading about our queer habits which we have no intention of amending. This book is a lightly amusing but not outstanding effort in its class. Perhaps, like other PN readers, I saw the joke before Mr. Ross did, and do not support so nobly the things about which he laughs at his adopted fellow countrymen.

## "LIBERATION"

THE October issue of Liberation, 110 Christopher Street, New York 14, will be devoted to the issues in the Presidential Election. A formal statement by the Editors, a report on a poll of Liberation subscribers, comments by spokesmen of various parties and by such publicists as Grenville Hicks, etc., will feature this issue.

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This time Gandhi was so severely beaten and wounded that he had to be carried to a friend's house and put to bed. The police arrested the Pathans, but Gandhi refused to accuse them of anything. He could not bear to think that the old quarrel between Hindus and Muslims might break out again because of this incident.

Humbly and sweetly he begged the two communities to unite and let the blood from their wounds cement their friendship.

The result of this wonderful gentleness was that Mir Alam's heart was filled with remorse and he became a close friend of Gandhi.

While still laying in bed recovering from the beating he had received, Gandhi allowed his finger prints to be taken by the Government.

THIS was not the end of the registration struggle, however, for the Government did not keep its word, but continued to order the registration of Indians.

So Gandhi, who could be just as firm as he was sweet and forgiving, wrote the Government a severe letter. He told them that if the registration order was not done away with, all the Indians who had registered willingly would burn their certificates and set fire to them publicly.

For this act he was again put in jail. Next week: Gandhi founds the now famous Satyagraha Ashram.

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with a foreword by

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The full text of the statement issued today  
by the Labour Peace Fellowship

# TOTAL PEACE

**E**VENTS are moving quickly in world affairs. The development of the H-bomb has outdated the calculations of the military leaders. The political assumptions of the "cold war" era have been rendered obsolete by recent changes in Soviet policy.

Mankind, however, still searches for a way out of recurring economic crises and the threat of war. Capitalism, on its past record, is discredited, while Communism, despite its economic achievements, has, on its own admission, meant political tyranny. Millions throughout the world, particularly in the so called "uncommitted countries," are struggling for both economic and political freedom.

Today a great responsibility rests with the forces of democratic socialism, of which the British Labour Party is the strongest section. Can they lead humanity forward? Today, the Labour Party, busy revising its policy, must do so in a world context.

A new and revolutionary approach to the problems of peace and world abundance must be at the forefront of any new Labour Party programme.

## War must go

The atomic bombs which were dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki destroyed 100,000 human beings. People are still suffering and dying from the radio-active effects. The latest hydrogen bomb is estimated to be 2,500 times more powerful than the Hiroshima bomb.

Both the Western Powers and the Russians are making these weapons and maintain that their deterrent effect is a guarantee of peace. They hope they will never be used, but the military strategists are relying increasingly on thermo-nuclear weapons and less on "conventional" armaments.

If war breaks out it is sheer complacency to imagine the H-bomb would never be used.

Lord Montgomery, deputy chief of NATO, said recently:—

"If anyone in the world starts aggression we shall give them the works from the word go, with Atom and Hydrogen bombs, and the biggest things we've got . . . I wouldn't mind the consequences . . ."

The belligerent reaction of the British Government following Egypt's nationalisation of the Suez Canal shows clearly that threats of military action are still part of the foreign policies of Britain and the nations of the world.

Suez is only one of many danger spots in the world over which a small conflict may break out that could develop into a world-wide struggle between the Great Powers in which all weapons were used, including the H-bomb.

The H-bomb is, however, not even the ultimate weapon. A world race is now on to develop the intercontinental ballistic missile.

democracy, they refused to join either the US or Soviet power bloc, or accept economic assistance "with strings." Nehru's India nevertheless played a major role in bringing peace in Korea and Indo-China. At the Bandung Conference held in 1955, half the world signified its support for the policy of "non-alignment."

Britain is wedded to NATO, SEATO, and the Baghdad Pact. Our policy is subordinated to US military strategy in all parts of the world. We are an advance base for US heavy bombers. Our trade with China and other countries is restricted by the Battle Act and other US embargoes. It is time for Britain to assert herself and reconsider the continuation of foreign bases on our shores.

The existence of these power blocs is hindering world unity and proving to be a barrier to world disarmament.

## Tackle all danger spots

The dangerous reaction to Egypt's nationalisation of the Suez Canal underlines the need for implementing bold policies to ensure that such crises never arise.

The United Nations should work out plans for the international control of those strategic areas on which the prosperity of the whole world depends. These should include all the key waterways: Suez, Panama Canal, Dardanelles, Straits of Gibraltar. New UN agencies should be established where necessary.

The main aim of international control must be to guarantee equality of access to all nations and to ensure that the wealth accruing from canal dues and oil fields is principally used to raise the living standards of the local populations.

Nationalisation should not be incompatible with an international control promoted by UNO. Socialists should resist

the use of military and economic coercion by Britain or any Power to preserve exclusive economic privileges in other countries.

## Germany and Russia

A peaceful solution of the problem of German unity is urgent. The British Labour Movement should give full support to the policy adopted by the German Social Democrats and trade unionists—a peaceful united Germany tied neither to NATO or the Soviet bloc; no conscription; disarmament and an all European Security system.

Democratic Socialists cannot remain unaffected by the Soviet repudiation of Stalinism and the cuts in her armed forces totalling 1,840,000. Whilst continuing to press for an extension of political freedom in Communist countries we should be prepared for increased co-operation particularly in the economic

demonstrated how power could be peacefully transferred to colonial peoples and imperialist rule liquidated.

Today Britain, under the Tories, has turned the clock back in many colonial territories. In Cyprus, Kenya and Singapore, she is bent on maintaining her grip by the rule of force. Military strategy, demanding the continuation of overseas bases, is a major hinderance to self-determination being granted to a number of colonies; in others it is the resistance of the white settlers or business interests.

It is time to apply to all colonies the enlightened policy pioneered by Labour in India—fixing targets for granting freedom and co-operating with the leaders of the people's movements to facilitate a peaceful settlement and economic assistance.

The colour bar and racial discrimination exist not only in South Africa but in many British colonies too. They are not absent even in Britain. Labour must oppose these evils wherever they exist.

## Need for Socialism

The new technological advances, including atomic power and automation, will not be used for the benefit of all peoples if they are developed for private profit. The need for socialist ownership and planning is overwhelming today both to avert unemployment following disarmament and to ensure that aid to under-developed areas avoids capitalist exploitation.

Whether a democratic rather than a totalitarian brand of socialism triumphs in this world of conflicting ideologies depends on the lead given by British Labour. The creative purpose of democratic Socialism is something more than immediate reforms in Britain. It is the elimination of war and the liberation of all peoples from poverty, disease and exploitation.

## Immediate steps

The Labour Peace Fellowship believes that the Labour Party should take the initiative for peace now and press for the following:—

1. **RELAX WORLD TENSIONS:** Through top level talks and in the UN Britain should use her influence to resolve all outstanding causes of tension including:—

(a) The settlement of the Suez Canal dispute through the United Nations and the end of military and economic pressure in Egypt.

(b) The admission of Communist China to UNO and a negotiated settlement of Formosa's future.

(c) A peaceful unified Germany tied militarily to neither power bloc.

(d) Continued UN mediation in the Arab-Israeli dispute to settle the problem of frontiers, refugees, etc., and a Middle East arms embargo.

(e) An end to all embargoes on trade in peaceful commodities between Communist and non-Communist states.

2. **ARMS INTO AID:** Britain should immediately commence disarming by:
  - (a) Abolishing military conscription and assisting young people to serve voluntarily in backward areas.
  - (b) Substantially reducing her annual arms expenditure.

# A challenge to Labour



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If war breaks out it is sheer complacency to imagine the H-bomb would never be used.

Lord Montgomery, deputy chief of NATO, said recently :—

**"If anyone in the world starts aggression we shall give them the works from the word go, with Atom and Hydrogen bombs, and the biggest things we've got . . . I wouldn't mind the consequences . . ."**

The belligerent reaction of the British Government following Egypt's nationalisation of the Suez Canal shows clearly that threats of military action are still part of the foreign policies of Britain and the nations of the world.

Suez is only one of many danger spots in the world over which a small conflict may break out that could develop into a world-wide struggle between the Great Powers in which all weapons were used, including the H-bomb.

The H-bomb is, however, not even the ultimate weapon. A world race is now on to develop the intercontinental ballistic missile.

**Clearly these weapons of mass annihilation offer the people no "defence" whatever. Any effective Civil Defence is an illusion.**

Peace today is based on threats of mutual obliteration, which is a shaky foundation indeed.

Fundamentally the problem of the Hydrogen Bomb is a moral one that democratic socialists must not ignore or evade. We have many times proclaimed our faith in human dignity and the brotherhood of man. We must then say **no** to the manufacture, use and testing of these devilish weapons and the foreign policy of which they are a part. Democracy will not be defended by these evil means.

What applies to thermo-nuclear weapons applies almost equally to all weapons of modern war. Bertrand Russell and the eight world scientists in their appeal of July 1955 posed the question :—

**"Shall we put an end to the human race; or shall mankind renounce war?"**

The time has arrived for an abandonment of violence as an instrument of foreign policy by turning away from war and military power politics. Such a step is not without risks but they are no greater than those of the existing world race in thermo-nuclear weapons!

## Fallacy of collective security

The Labour Party has hesitated to renounce armaments because it still clings to a belief in Collective Security which it adopted in the 'thirties. This policy was put to the test in Korea and almost touched off the Third World War. The United Nations waged war on behalf of the victim of aggression. It got involved in war with China and devastated the country that was being "liberated," using napalm bombs indiscriminately.

After three years of war Korea was still divided and her problems remained unsolved. The fighting was ended in Korea largely by the activities of neutral India.

nationalisation of those strategic areas on which the prosperity of the whole world depends. These should include all the key waterways : Suez, Panama Canal, Dardanelles, Straits of Gibraltar. New UN agencies should be established where necessary.

The main aim of international control must be to guarantee equality of access to all nations and to ensure that the wealth accruing from canal dues and oil fields is principally used to raise the living standards of the local populations.

Nationalisation should not be incompatible with an international control promoted by UNO. Socialists should resist

# A challenge to Labour

the use of military and economic coercion by Britain or any Power to preserve exclusive economic privileges in other countries.

## Germany and Russia

A peaceful solution of the problem of German unity is urgent. The British Labour Movement should give full support to the policy adopted by the German Social Democrats and trade unionists—a peaceful united Germany tied neither to NATO or the Soviet bloc; no conscription; disarmament and an all European Security system.

Democratic Socialists cannot remain unaffected by the Soviet repudiation of Stalinism and the cuts in her armed forces totalling 1,840,000. Whilst continuing to press for an extension of political freedom in Communist countries we should be prepared for increased co-operation particularly in the economic field. Socialists and Communists ought to be able to work out plans for economic assistance to backward areas and increase trade.

**Democratic Socialists seek to establish a society combining economic planning and liberal democracy.**

States adhering to this outlook are in a key position to encourage the best in the US and Russian systems and to turn competitive co-existence into peaceful co-operation.

## End the call-up

In 1951 the Labour Government increased Britain's armament expenditure to £1,500,000,000 a year. Cuts in the social services, a worsening of Britain's overseas balance of payments and rising living costs were the price. Labour's defeat at the polls followed.

If Labour is to implement its plans for social betterment in Britain and aid the under-developed areas this inflationary armaments burden must be drastically reduced. Let us bury the Warfare State!

When Labour continued military conscription in peacetime it betrayed its faith.

**In a democratic socialist society true service should be voluntary and not forced on young men without a vote.**

We reject forced labour in industry and should not tolerate the military leaders solving their manpower shortages by these totalitarian methods. Youth should be encouraged to perform constructive service in the poorer nations of the world not compelled to hold down colonial peoples by force.

## Disarmament by example

Despite concessions by both sides there is still no agreement in the United Nations on world disarmament. In fact the possession of vast armaments by the Great Powers is the main cause of the vicious circle of fear and counter-fear that is an obstacle to disarmament.

mediate reforms in Britain. It is the elimination of war and the liberation of all peoples from poverty, disease and exploitation.

## Immediate steps

The Labour Peace Fellowship believes that the Labour Party should take the initiative for peace now and press for the following :—

1. **RELAX WORLD TENSIONS** : Through top level talks and in the UN Britain should use her influence to resolve all outstanding causes of tension including :—

(a) The settlement of the Suez Canal dispute through the United Nations and the end of military and economic pressure in Egypt.

(b) The admission of Communist China to UNO and a negotiated settlement of Formosa's future.

(c) A peaceful unified Germany tied militarily to neither power bloc.

(d) Continued UN mediation in the Arab-Israeli dispute to settle the problem of frontiers, refugees, etc., and a Middle East arms embargo.

(e) An end to all embargoes on trade in peaceful commodities between Communist and non-Communist states.

2. **ARMS INTO AID** : Britain should immediately commence disarming by :

(a) Abolishing military conscription and assisting young people to serve voluntarily in backward areas.

(b) Substantially reducing her annual arms expenditure on a planned basis, releasing resources to strengthen the British economy and aid poorer nations.

(c) Making the attack on world poverty a major object of our foreign policy and initiate contributions to SUNFED (Special UN Fund for Economic Development).

(d) Renouncing the manufacture, use and testing of thermo-nuclear, atomic and bacteriological weapons.

3. **END THE MILITARY BLOCS** : Believing that only "one world" policies are relevant in a thermo-nuclear age Britain should :

(a) Work for the end of NATO, SEATO, Baghdad Pact and the Warsaw Treaty and cease to remain a member of any alliance dividing the world into hostile military blocs.

(b) End the US bomber bases in Britain.

(c) Associate actively with nations like India and attempt to develop the Commonwealth into an influence for world mediation tied to neither power bloc.

4. **FREE ALL COLONIES** : In a final attempt to end colonialism Britain should :

(a) Concede the right of self-determination to all colonies, including militarily strategic territories, including Cyprus, Singapore, Aden, etc., and fix target dates for the granting of self-government.

(b) End hostilities in Cyprus and Kenya and release those imprisoned without trial. Restore the democratic constitution in British Guiana.

(c) In Kenya and Central Africa grant Africans political and economic rights and end White Settler domination.

(d) Allow Seretse Khama to return to Bechuanaland.

## Reform UNO

The United Nations despite its many imperfections must be strengthened as a peacemaking body. The work of the specialised agencies in particular should be expanded. Britain should press for the following reforms in the Charter :

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After three years of war Korea was still divided and her problems remained unsolved. The fighting was ended in Korea largely by the activities of neutral India.

Over Guatemala the UN refused even to consider this case of aggression when non-Communists were the guilty party!

Clearly the role of the UN must be that of a peacemaker, not a belligerent, as it demonstrated by its successful handling of the Indonesian dispute, and by its mediation in Kashmir and in the Arab-Israeli conflict.

## Labour and the Cold War

After 1945 the Labour Government was absorbed in creating the Welfare State and laying the basis of a socialist society in Britain. In its approach to foreign affairs, however, it still thought in terms of military power politics. When Soviet diplomacy was uncompromising on almost every issue, the Labour Government saw the world in black and white terms: countries had to line up with the Soviet bloc or form an anti-Communist grouping under American leadership. After the events in Czechoslovakia in 1948, they believed that there was no alternative.

From this policy developed support for NATO; the US bomber bases in Britain; two years' conscription; the rearmament drive of 1950/51; German rearmament; SEATO; the H-bomb and the Baghdad Pact. The Labour and Conservative Parties adopted a bi-partisan attitude on all these issues.

Much of the uneasiness of countless Labour Party members and supporters in recent years arises from the Party's acquiescence in this suicidal foreign policy, the cost of which has undermined Labour's domestic achievements and lost us world leadership.

Most of the emergent nations of Asia, including India, Burma and Indonesia, reacted differently to world events, although many of them were led by democratic socialists. Whilst desperately needing foreign economic aid and wishing to preserve

trade.

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It is time for Britain to take the lead by planning progressive steps towards disarmament and by abandoning a foreign policy based on threats of war, whilst continuing to work for the success of the UN efforts for world-wide disarmament. Let the disarmament race start now!

For socialists disarmament should be a major objective, not something to follow a settlement of the world's political disputes. Capitalist economies, particularly that of the USA, rely on armament production to maintain full employment, but in a Socialist society there need be no such barriers to disarmament.

## A World Welfare Society

Whilst the great powers squander the world's wealth on armaments to the tune of £40,000 million a year two-thirds of mankind still endures grinding poverty? The world population is rising rapidly and every year 34 million more mouths have to be fed. Science could bring abundance if economic aid had the same priority as armaments.

Britain's total expenditure on overseas economic aid is less than a tenth of her expenditure on defence.

Labour should insist that Britain tackles this problem with urgency by diverting resources to aid poorer nations and pressing for the UN to establish a World Development Authority to do the job on a world scale. For too long Labour's plan for World Mutual Aid has been in cold storage due to the demands of rearmament.

## Liquidate imperialism

Labour's greatest achievement after 1945 was the granting of independence to India, Pakistan, Burma and Ceylon. Britain

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1. **Universality of Membership**—including representation from colonial peoples.

2. **A permanent conciliation commission** to mediate in disputes likely to lead to armed conflict.

3. **Compulsory jurisdiction of a World Court** and the application of a world law to individuals.

4. **A representative World Parliament** in place of the present assembly of foreign offices.

5. **A World Development Authority** with adequate long term funds.

6. **Inspected World Disarmament** with provision for pooling atomic energy.

7. **Implementation of the Charter of Human Rights** especially in non-Self Governing Territories.

## Alternative to arms

Many Labour pioneers took an uncompromising stand against war and military service. The Second International before 1914 called on the Labour Movements in all countries to refuse to support war. Keir Hardie uttered the basis of socialist internationalism when he said:

"War is murder. When the workers defy the call of Governments to murder each other, there will be no more war!"

Today this attitude is not irrelevant for socialists living in a world in which war is an even greater enemy than in Hardie's day.

There is urgent need today for Labour to not only turn its back on war, but also to examine fully methods of non-violent resistance to tyranny, used successfully by Gandhi and others as a substitute for reliance on armaments.

Britain still occupies a key position in the world. Under a new Labour Government, whose accession to power may not be long delayed, she can give the world what it most needs—moral leadership. Labour can ensure that **BRITAIN LEADS FOR PEACE.**



## UNCRUSHED

The following editorial appeared in last month's newsletter of the Society for Social Responsibility in Science, an American-based organisation to which many of the world's distinguished scientists are attached.

SEVEN years after the event comes the news that Russian nuclear physicist Peter Kapitsa refused to obey Stalin's order to lead a programme for development of atomic weapons in Russia. He strongly disapproved of the manufacture of atomic bombs, and would have nothing to do with the race to develop the A-weapons.

As punishment, Kapitsa was placed under house arrest for seven years, being released only after Stalin's death. Meanwhile, other scientists who also found themselves unable to bow to Stalin were sent to Siberia. As part of the post-Stalin upheaval Kapitsa has been restored to his old post as Director of the Institute for Physical Problems, and other scientists are back from Siberia and at work on problems of which they themselves approve. Free contact with foreign scientists is apparently approved.

A number of SSRS members have been reproached or condemned, in the past years, by some such statement as "How dare you refuse to promote America's military effort, when everyone beyond the iron curtain is working overtime to make weapons to destroy us? The other side is not encumbered by conscience, and it is not fair to let your conscience slow down our side."

This gods-and-devils concept of world affairs is now proved wrong again. It simply is not true that all the people on one side of a conflict are noble, and all the people on the other side brutish and bestial, although this myth is zealously fostered by the wishful thinkers of both sides.

Conscience is an attribute of human beings, and wherever there are humans, the faint and rudimentary stirrings of conscience are likely to be heard.

It was the same in World War II. We were told that all Germans were fiends, with no room for conscience in their disciplined and militarised minds; and this was used to argue that Americans should not use their consciences, either.

After the war, of course, numerous stories came out of Germans who had refused to commit atrocities, and had paid the supreme penalty for acting in the spirit of humanity.

And now comes Kapitsa, to witness again to the universal nature of conscience. Conscience was not crushed by Stalin; let us not permit it to be crushed where we are, either.

## MUSTE

\* FROM  
PAGE TWO

from a near-by hamlet, James Gordon, 10, and

## AMERICAN NEGRO JOURNALIST DETAINED, THEN FREED

JOHANNESBURG, September 9.—An American Negro journalist, Mr. William Worthy, who was detained at the Jan Smuts airport yesterday flew to Salisbury this afternoon + He was given back his camera and tape recorder + Before he left, he said: "I had an entry visa which expired before my proposed visit to Bechuanaland on July 23 + I applied to South Africa House in London for a renewal of the visa + This was refused + On my arrival in Leopoldville on August 5, a South African representative there told me that I would be allowed to travel through the Union as an American citizen without the visa if I had proof of transport to Bechuanaland + It was on this advice that all would be well that I left Leopoldville for the Union" + But When Mr. Worthy arrived at the Jan Smuts airport, he was immediately questioned about the circumstances of his arrival and then detained + END

## Reflections on being turned out of South Africa

By WILLIAM WORTHY

*Well known to American radio audiences, William Worthy reached a wide public with his penetrating report of the Bandung Conference.*

IF the Government of the Union of South Africa is at all like a man or woman of average intelligence, it one day will begin to learn from the school of hard knocks.

In recent years the hard knocks and black eyes raining down from the forum of world public opinion have been so numerous that I arrived at Jan Smuts Airport in Johannesburg optimistic that a chastened government would permit a harmless, normally inquisitive Negro reporter to enter its gates.

As things turned out, I had either overestimated Pretoria's concern for world opinion or underestimated the obduracy of individual skulls in officialdom.

In view of the firm refusal to let me remain in the country more than one night it may be naive to hope for an eventual reconsideration of my visa application, but I still would like to visit South Africa.

Nothing would be easier than to sprinkle this piece with sarcastic, emotionally toned phrases reflecting my disappointment at being thrown out.

Personal philosophy

was compelled to leave overnight in the custody of the customs authorities.

In this case, where it would have been so simple just to let me in, it was men in Government who did not behave with the wisdom and dignity and magnanimity that befits urbane and sophisticated adults.

As the "victim" I can only give my word that no mood of vengeance would distort my reporting if the Ministry of Native Affairs and others involved with my application should rise above themselves and above their colour-bar ideology and should permit me to study South Africa from the inside rather than from the books and news reports which, according to those same officials, give to the world a biased view of their regime and their policies.

## LIFE OF GANDHI

## CHINA'S WAR ON WANT

By Leslie Hale, MP

LET me say at once that the Yellow River is not the largest river in China. To start with, it is only just over three thousand miles long. And the annual stream flow is just over fifty thousand million cubic metres.

The Yangste has twenty times as great a flow.

But the Yellow River is by far the more wicked of the two.

Our Chinese friends are completely free from arrogance, but in one matter I did delightedly trace just the slightest suspicion of conceit. There is genuine pride in the length of their recorded history.

They tell you that they only have detailed records of the Yellow River for the last three thousand years (that is one thousand years before Julius Caesar landed in Britain). These records show, however, that scarcely a year passes without a serious flood of some kind, partly due to the fact that though the average rainfall is light, it varies tremendously and can reach six inches in a day.

Moreover, the Yellow River washes away a silt, much of which consists of loess, one of the best soils in the world, in quantities sufficient each year to build a wall a yard square which would go twenty-three times round the equator. And in the course of its long history the river has from time to time completely altered its course so as to reach the sea at points several hundred miles apart.

The Chinese estimate that when Chiang Kai-shek opened the dykes deliberately in 1938, the floods resulted in the deaths of 890,000 people.

All these facts are so stupendous as to be difficult to assimilate. When I stood on a boat on the Whampoo River where it joins the Yangste near its mouth, and looked across the Yangste and spate to a distant point at which one could faintly descry the distant trees which marked the opposite bank, Mr. Sung turned politely to me and said "I suppose you have some big rivers in England, Mr. Hale." I looked at his placid brow for some sign of sarcasm but it was not there, but of course the Yangste can comfortably encircle the whole of the British Isles and could do it nearly twice over.

### 46 DAMS

The Chinese Government has decided to tackle the Yellow River, but they are under no illusion about the magnitude of the task. It is by far the greatest scheme, by far the most costly, the most spacious and the most important scheme of its kind ever undertaken.



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from a near-by hamlet, James Gordon, 10, and his younger sister, have for several days been the only pupils.

It was James who, when school was about to open, asked his mother, Mrs. Louise Gordon, why he should not go to the nearby school in Clay, rather than to the all Negro school nine miles away.

His mother, a frail woman in her twenties, said to him: "If you got the guts to go, I got the guts to take you."

SUEZ

Suez is a long way from the winning town of Clay, Kentucky, but in more than a surface sense the issues are similar.

Walter Lippmann had an eminently sensible column on the Suez crisis a day or two ago. As happens fairly often, the supposedly conservative commentator was more restrained than the supposedly liberal one, in this case Max Lerner, who has been doing vitriolic columns on Nasser in the NY Post.

In one of them he held up the manoeuvres by which Allen Dulles' Central Intelligence Agency had engineered the anti-Mossadegh coupe in Iran a couple of years ago, as a brilliant move that the French and British might emulate in Egypt.

This sort of thing is not intervention, readers will understand, unless Russia or Communist China does it.

Lippmann wrote that Egypt had a right to nationalise the Canal; has as yet committed no act of aggression; any resort to force would

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## Personal philosophy

But aside from being a journalist I am also a private individual with a personal philosophy and ethic. Closely akin to Quaker teachings, that philosophy embodies compassion and forgiveness even for those most grievously in error, and adheres to a Gandhian faith in the possibility of melting the stoniest heart.

I could not and would not "buy" a visa into any country at the price of an advance promise to write what the men in power wish to be written. I do always make a pledge to myself to write balanced dispatches and to concern myself with potentialities, no matter seemingly how slim, for internal and external reconciliation.

This silent pledge applied equally last year to my stay in the Soviet Union whose totalitarian system I despise. Ironically, the specialised stupidity of the bureaucracies of Russia and of certain touchy colonial governments is that they daily frustrate foreign correspondents and block all paths to the non-political human-interest stories which reveal the unity of mankind.

Short though it was, 28 hours was long enough for me to note that, despite the centralisation of power in Pretoria, the Union of South Africa is not yet a completely monolithic state and that doughty individuals are striving openly to bridge the gulfs between the races and to still the irrational fears that stalk the land.

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## LIFE OF GANDHI ON RADIO

THE first of four programmes featuring the life of Mahatma Gandhi will be broadcast in the BBC's Third Programme on Sunday and be repeated on Wednesday, October 10.

The producer, Maurice Brown, and the narrator, Francis Watson, have spent two years preparing the four feature programmes. They edited well over ten miles of magnetic tape after three months' intensive work in India.

Titles for the four programmes are: "A Portrait"; "The Conquest of India"; "Gandhi in England"; and "Gandhi—the Last Phase."

Chakravarti Rajagopalachari, who contributes to Peace News this week, will be among those whose voices will be heard.

Rajendra Prasad, President of India and former vice-president of the War Resisters' International, Mr. Nehru, Earl Mountbatten, and Gandhi's son, Devadas, and granddaughter, Sumitra, are included in a long list of other recordings.

## We did not say it . . .

SPEAKING during the Defence and Manpower debate in the House of Commons on July 31, Emanuel Shinwell, Labour MP for Easington, said, "... the extreme pacifists . . . are the most logical of all."

They say that they only have detailed records of the Yellow River for the last three thousand years (that is one thousand years before Julius Caesar landed in Britain). These records show, however, that scarcely a year passes without a serious flood of some kind, partly due to the fact that though the average rainfall is light, it varies tremendously and can reach six inches in a day.

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First they will erect a huge dam at Sanmen Gorge with a reservoir covering an area of 2,350 square kilometres.

Next they have to erect forty-six separate dams on the main river which will help to furnish about one hundred and ten thousand million kilowatt hours of electricity—ten times the total output for China the year before last. Next there will be the schemes of irrigation which will extend the irrigated area from less than three million acres to about twenty million acres.

All this will result in a widening of the river and make it navigable by tug boat for the greater part of its vast length. The enormous areas to be dealt with will involve the task of resettling 600,000 people.

Some parts of the scheme will take fifty years to accomplish, but the Sanmen Gorge dam and reservoir should be completed by 1961 and a major part of the plan within fifteen years.

The Soviet Government have offered to the Chinese Government every possible assistance; Russian experts have worked with Chinese experts on the plan.

What a tragedy that we are still following the policy of Washington, that we are still imposing an embargo on the export of goods to China to teach the Chinese that they ought not to dislike General MacArthur or resent his intentions of dropping an atom bomb on China, to teach them not to resent the fact



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### SUEZ

Suez is a long way from the winning town of Clay, Kentucky, but in more than a surface sense the issues are similar.

Walter Lippmann had an eminently sensible column on the Suez crisis a day or two ago. As happens fairly often, the supposedly conservative commentator was more restrained than the supposedly liberal one, in this case Max Lerner, who has been doing vitriolic columns on Nasser in the NY Post.

In one of them he held up the manoeuvres by which Allen Dulles' Central Intelligence Agency had engineered the anti-Mossadegh coupe in Iran a couple of years ago, as a brilliant move that the French and British might emulate in Egypt.

This sort of thing is not intervention, readers will understand, unless Russia or Communist China does it.

Lippmann wrote that Egypt had a right to nationalise the Canal; has as yet committed no act of aggression; any resort to force would be calamitous.

He suggests that starting with Dulles' idea of an international board to operate the Canal and compromising by making the functions of the board advisory; and starting with Nehru's idea of international advice, assistance, etc., and negotiating with Nasser for way of making them effective, come to about the same thing.

In any case, negotiation is the only sensible course.

The Dulles proposal that a user's association be formed strikes me as a typically slick Dulles gadget. Like many such improvisations of his, it is likely to come to nothing.

On the other hand, when I read the militant utterances of many elements in France and Great Britain today, I cannot but recall how a year and two years ago when I was over there, these same people seemed to believe that practically all Americans were war-minded and did not take seriously one's query: "What will you people be saying and doing when you think your vital interests are at stake?"

By accident, as it were, some one in the US State Department revealed on the day this is being written just where the shoe does pinch Mr. Dulles and the Administration here.

An anonymous "source" said Egypt must not have the unfettered right to assign pilots to ships using the Canal. Mr. Dulles regards as "intolerable the prospect of Egypt's assigning a Russian pilot to an American ship."

The Soviet Union still stands to gain, however this business proceeds and though I have by no means come round to the view that the men in the Kremlin are innocents or do-gooders, I think it must in fairness be said that the most coherent and intelligent official statement yet made on the Suez crisis is that of the Soviet Government on September 15!

But aside from being a journalist I am also a private individual with a personal philosophy and ethic. Closely akin to Quaker teachings, that philosophy embodies compassion and forgiveness even for those most grievously in error, and adheres to a Gandhian faith in the possibility of melting the stoniest heart.

I could not and would not "buy" a visa into any country at the price of an advance promise to write what the men in power wish to be written. I do always make a pledge to myself to write balanced dispatches and to concern myself with potentialities, no matter seemingly how slim, for internal and external reconciliation.

This silent pledge applied equally last year to my stay in the Soviet Union whose totalitarian system I despise. Ironically, the specialised stupidity of the bureaucracies of Russia and of certain touchy colonial governments is that they daily frustrate foreign correspondents and block all paths to the non-political human-interest stories which reveal the unity of mankind.

Short though it was, 28 hours was long enough for me to note that, despite the centralisation of power in Pretoria, the Union of South Africa is not yet a completely monolithic state and that doughty individuals are striving openly to bridge the gulfs between the races and to still the irrational fears that stalk the land.

### Liberal elements

Even the minor officials with whom I had contact, as well as consular officers at posts abroad, could not have been more courteous and helpful if I had been white.

When I return home to America and my fellow Negroes compare the Union with Nazi Germany, honesty will compel me to say that no Jew arriving at Berlin's airport during the Hitler era would have met with the graciousness and propriety that I encountered in Johannesburg.

Another encouraging factor was the information reaching me from authoritative sources that several departments of Government were definitely in favour of granting me the visa.

The evidence indicates that one and only one unyielding department vetoed my application.

I understand that the more liberal elements among the three or four agencies concerned were embarrassed and chagrined by the widespread publicity occasioned by my "deportation." One can only hope that their voices within the Government have been strengthened and that their wiser counsels will in the end prevail.

As a child, tormented and teased by three older and stronger sisters, I used to plot ways of "getting even" with them: I lacked the capacity to forget.

Today I have no time for the pettiness of revenge, and by-gones are truly by-gones.

Were I inclined to use the pound-of-flesh measure of a Shylock I could claim a real and tangible grievance against the Union Government, especially after discovering broken locks on two of the suitcases that I

THE first of four programmes featuring the life of Mahatma Gandhi will be broadcast in the BBC's Third Programme on Sunday and be repeated on Wednesday, October 10.

The producer, Maurice Brown, and the narrator, Francis Watson, have spent two years preparing the four feature programmes. They edited well over ten miles of magnetic tape after three months' intensive work in India.

Titles for the four programmes are: "A Portrait"; "The Conquest of India"; "Gandhi in England"; and "Gandhi—the Last Phase."

Chakravarti Rajagopalachari, who contributes to Peace News this week, will be among those whose voices will be heard.

Rajendra Prasad, President of India and former vice-president of the War Resisters' International, Mr. Nehru, Earl Mountbatten, and Gandhi's son, Devadas, and granddaughter, Sumitra, are included in a long list of other recordings.

### We did not say it . . .

SPEAKING during the Defence and Manpower debate in the House of Commons on July 31, Emanuel Shinwell, Labour MP for Easington, said, "... the extreme pacifists ... are the most logical of all."

"They say, 'Defence is useless, anyway. War does not solve any problem.' But they ignore public opinion and the emotions of those people, however humble they may be, however lacking in intellectual quality, or in political consciousness who say, 'The nation must have some defence, because we want security.'"

"... The extreme pacifists are logical. They say, 'Away with it all.' But I cannot understand the person who says, 'Let us have defence because we require security, but cut down your defence costs'."

The largest, brightest and most varied selection of

## CHRISTMAS CARDS

for pacifists and their friends

is the ENDSLEIGH CARDS range for 1956. They are published by PEACE NEWS to help in meeting our £100 a week publishing deficit.

FULL RANGE (30 assorted, with envelopes) 10s. 6d.

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Gorge with a reservoir covering an area of 2,350 square kilometres.

Next they have to erect forty-six separate dams on the main river which will help to furnish about one hundred and ten thousand million kilowatt hours of electricity—ten times the total output for China the year before last. Next there will be the schemes of irrigation which will extend the irrigated area from less than three million acres to about twenty million acres.

All this will result in a widening of the river and make it navigable by tug boat for the greater part of its vast length. The enormous areas to be dealt with will involve the task of resettling 600,000 people.

Some parts of the scheme will take fifty years to accomplish, but the Sanmen Gorge dam and reservoir should be completed by 1961 and a major part of the plan within fifteen years.

The Soviet Government have offered to the Chinese Government every possible assistance; Russian experts have worked with Chinese experts on the plan.

What a tragedy that we are still following the policy of Washington, that we are still imposing an embargo on the export of goods to China to teach the Chinese that they ought not to dislike General MacArthur or resent his intentions of dropping an atom bomb on China, to teach them not to resent the fact that six hundred million people are "represented" at the United Nations by an American puppet, or to resent the fact that American troops occupy an island near their coasts with a Chinese population of two million.

There can be no question that the Chinese would like to restore good relations with Western Europe, but this great country will not do it on humiliating terms.

China is growing in power and in strength. We can co-operate or we can stand aside.

If we stand aside, our children may live bitterly to regret that decision.



# SUEZ PEACE PLAN

★ FROM  
PAGE ONE

There is still time, however, for an alteration of policy, and in this country there are some signs of support for my original proposals as a basis for negotiation. If they should be considered and adopted by the Labour Party Conference there might be a chance of a speedy and peaceful settlement. I am glad, therefore, to be given the opportunity to explain my proposals to readers of Peace News.

## Against spirit of Charter

My first point dealt with the nationalisation of the Universal Suez Canal Company. Whatever the causes may have been which led to this decision, and knowing something of the strains and stresses behind the action, the way in which it was done was arbitrary and contrary both to the letter and spirit of the Charter of Concession. Possibly it would not have been done had it not been that one Government, and one Government alone, namely Great Britain, was a shareholder in the Company holding 44 per cent of the shares, the rest being in private hands, and that with these shares that Government enjoyed the right of appointing three Directors to the Board of the Company. The British holding, purchased in 1875 by Disraeli's administration, had been Egypt's holding owned on Egypt's behalf by the Khedive. By nationalising the Company, an Egyptian Company by registration, the one foreign Power identified with the Company would be eliminated and paid out, anticipating what would have happened in any case in 1968 when the Concession terminated.

My proposal provided that although the date had been advanced by twelve years the required equitable terms of transfer set out in the Articles of the Concession should still be followed.

Egypt's position would gain greatly in equality by offering this.

## Serving all nations

My second point invited Egypt, in view of the unchanged purpose that the Canal should serve the maritime needs of all nations without distinction, to reassure the principal users of the continuance of this policy by clear definition of the constitution and structure of the new Egyptian Operating Agency. To this no exception could be taken.

My third point dealt with the Canal's international character as a universal waterway while respecting Egypt's rights as the territorial Power.

I proposed an agreement between Egypt and the United Nations to clarify this in a binding instrument, and in my fourth point I recommended that the agreement should

agreed between Egypt and that Organisation, governing the neutrality and operation of the Canal in keeping with modern requirements and the concept of World Law, also taking account of air power not visualised in the old Convention.

Such an agreement, any more than the 1888 document, would not give external control of the Canal. This would remain with the operating Agency, in this case the Egyptian Board substituted for the Suez Canal Company.

But I recommended that the agreement should form part of the statutes of the Agency, thus closely linking the United Nations with the Agency for the protection and satisfaction of all users.

## Ending interference

My proposal would do away with any interference in the affairs of Egypt by any Power or group of Powers, so that what was always emphasised should hold good, namely that in the matter of the Canal there should be no favoured nation or combination of nations.

My fifth point proposed that as a guarantee of the good faith of Egypt—and to this no exception is taken by Egypt—the United Nations should, if deemed necessary, create a Suez Canal Authority to maintain continuing relations with Egypt in respect of the observance of the terms of the agreement.

If there should be any violation of the agreement or dispute connected with it, the UN Suez Canal Authority would be able to take steps to have the matter brought immediately before the Security Council or the International Court as might be appropriate.

My final point suggested that as part of the general settlement consideration should be given to a UN loan to Egypt, possibly through the World Bank, of a sum sufficient to compensate the Suez Canal Company in full, this loan to be repaid over a period of years by a charge on a fixed percentage of the profits of operating the Canal.

This would assist Egypt economically in finding the very considerable capital sum involved, so that the efficiency of the Canal would not be in danger, neither would there be a risk to users of a heavy increase in charges, due to financial problems.

## Role of Users Association

I do not see any objection, in addition to these proposals, to there being a Canal Users Association to hold a watching brief on behalf of maritime commercial interests, with right of appeal to the UN Suez Canal Authority.

September 28, 1956—PEACE NEWS—7



**A SICK REFUGEE  
CHILD NEEDS  
YOUR HELP-NOW**

*"Will there be some more for me?" An undernourished child looks anxiously towards the helper serving soup.*

In Korea alone 4,000 hungry refugee children look to us for a hot meal each day; other families suffer from acute malnutrition in the Near East; and whole families, uprooted by conflict or intolerance, have taken shelter in caves, shacks and open streets in the Far East and elsewhere.

Your interest now can mean new hope for the future to one refugee. Please send a gift to help a child or a family back to health, and start life afresh. As Lord Hailsham said in his B.B.C. appeal, "with material help there comes more than a material message. It is a message of hope." 10/- provide a good meal for 120 orphans, £1 helps us to give a home to a sick or aged refugee. £7.10.0 covers the daily distribution in a Sick Babies' Clinic.

Send to Pax Relief, Barclays Bank Ltd., Old Bank, High St., Oxford.

## DISCARDED CLOTHING

Still Urgently Needed  
send to: Oxford/  
Pax, c/o Davies,  
Turner & Co., 50a,  
Bourne St., London,  
S.W.1.



## OXFORD COMMITTEE FOR FAMINE RELIEF

(Reg'd. War Charities Act, 1940)

SUPPORTERS INCLUDE: Mr. Laurence Housman, Dame Sybil Thorndike, Miss Vera Brittain, Rev. George F. MacLeod (Iona Community).

## LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

### Who pays?

WHAT would you say if you found a report like this in the Press:

"Hideous Communist Conspiracy discovered. It has been found out that the most important employees of a British industrial Company, owned by the State, have been bribed by an agency of the Soviet Government, which offered them three years' salary in advance if they would strike and thus

these bribes as well? Or who will pay them? The British tax-payers?

HEINZ KRASCHUTZKI.

Berlin.

### What are pacifists doing?

WHY should quite a good argument be called "bickering?" And why should pacifists not argue among themselves? For one thing it is a very good way of clarifying issues and getting to know the point of view of others.



ment enjoyed the right of appointing three Directors to the Board of the Company. The British holding, purchased in 1875 by Disraeli's administration, had been Egypt's holding owned on Egypt's behalf by the Khedive. By nationalising the Company, an Egyptian Company by registration, the one foreign Power identified with the Company would be eliminated and paid out, anticipating what would have happened in any case in 1968 when the Concession terminated.

My proposal provided that although the date had been advanced by twelve years the required equitable terms of transfer set out in the Articles of the Concession should still be followed.

Egypt's position would gain greatly in equality by offering this.

## Serving all nations

My second point invited Egypt, in view of the unchanged purpose that the Canal should serve the maritime needs of all nations without distinction, to reassure the principal users of the continuance of this policy by clear definition of the constitution and structure of the new Egyptian Operating Agency. To this no exception could be taken.

My third point dealt with the Canal's international character as a universal waterway while respecting Egypt's rights as the territorial Power.

I proposed an agreement between Egypt and the United Nations to clarify this in a binding instrument, and in my fourth point I recommended that the agreement should replace the much violated and out-dated Convention of 1888, and also the Suez Base agreement between Egypt and Britain of 1954.

The 1888 Convention was made between a number of Powers, there being at that time no Authority representing the family of nations. It also gave a special position to Britain in the alterations contained in the Peace Treaties after the 1914-1918 War, when Britain as regards the defence of the Canal stepped into the shoes of the former Ottoman Empire.

Now that the United Nations exists it is proper that a new instrument should be

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This Association, however, must not represent Powers, but essentially trade and shipping bodies of the countries concerned.

It would not have any right of control or management, but conceivably a right to be represented at an annual meeting of the operating Agency and to receive all policy statements and regular reports comparable to those published by the Suez Canal Company.

In my submission the proposals I have made would meet fairly and honourably all the requirements of the situation, and present a true basis for negotiation taking into account the contentions of all parties concerned.

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The world would roar with indignation about the Soviet trouble-makers.

But a quite similar thing has happened. The old Suez Canal Company, the legal status of which is at present rather doubtful, has incited the canal pilots to strike, paying them their salary for the next three years just for doing nothing.

It is a new experience to see a British Conservative Government pressing or bribing people into a political strike.

Nasser has promised to indemnify the old share-holders of the Company. When once the accounts are settled, will he be obliged to pay

these bribes as well? Or who will pay them? The British tax-payers?

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WHY should quite a good argument be called "bickering?" And why should pacifists not argue among themselves? For one thing it is a very good way of clarifying issues and getting to know the point of view of others.

I admit I was a little cross with Reginald Reynolds for referring so slightly to British pacifists as "stick-in-the-mud," which was the cause of my original letter, all the same I wish he would not be angry with me, and call me "dear" when he would seem to be feeling very like calling me something quite different!

Well, look, Reg ducks, we'll have a good argument when you come home! I shall look forward to it; meantime, believe me I wish you well in all you are doing whether it be speaking or swimming, in the USA.

Whatever it is I know it will be for good and for pacifism.

SYBIL MORRISON.

6 Apollo Place, London, S.W.10.

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2. Include: Date, TOWN, Time, Place (hall, street); nature of event; speakers, organisers (and secretary's address)—preferably in that order and style.

### Thursday, October 4

BERMONDSEY: 8.30 p.m.; Salter Ho., 63 Southwark Pk Rd. (Buses 1 and 78). John Robson, Chairman Lambeth branch of UNA, "The Aims of UNA." Peace Pledge Union.

LEYTONSTONE: 8 p.m.; Friends Mtg. Ho., Bush Road. Edith Adlam, "Experiences, 1940-1945." Peace Pledge Union.

### Monday, October 8

BRISTOL: 7 p.m.; Hermes Room, Guildhall Chambers, 23 Broad St. Florence Bradfield, "World Citizenship." Peace Pledge Union.

### Tuesday, October 9

WIMBLEDON: Suez Protest mtg. Cllr. Jo. Richards, Hugh Jenkins. MCF and Wimbledon Labour Party.

### Wednesday October 10

BELFAST: 8 p.m.; Friends' Inst., Frederick St. Arlo Tatum, Secretary, War Resisters' International, "The Psychology of Non-violence." Fellowship of Reconciliation.

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HAMMERSMITH: Suez Protest mtg. Patricia Rushton. MCF and Political Committee, Hammersmith.

### Friday, October 12

LONDON, W.C.1: 7 p.m.; Conway Hall, Red Lion Square (nearest tube, Holborn). Gene Sharp, Series of eight consecutive lectures commencing with "What is non-violence? Forms of non-violent action." The Third Way and

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LATEST TIME for copy: Monday morning before publication.

Whilst the policy of Peace News is not to restrict any concern or individual from advertising in these columns, it must be noted that we do not necessarily share the views nor the opinions of all our advertisers.

### MEETINGS

EXHIBITION OF WATER COLOURS, by Maier Rubinstein, Israeli war-resister and artist. Friends' International Centre, 32 Tavistock Sq., Thursday, October 4, 12.30-2.30 p.m.

WAR RESISTERS' International welcomes gifts of foreign stamps and undamaged air mail covers. Please send to WRI, Lansbury House, 88 Park Ave., Enfield, Middlesex.

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### SITUATIONS VACANT

PEACE NEWS OFFICE IS OPEN up to 9 p.m. every Wednesday evening for the sale of books and stationery, and for voluntary help with the despatch of Peace News. Visitors welcomed. 3 Blackstock Rd. (above Fish and

**Saturday, September 29**  
WANSTEAD: 3 p.m.; Friends Mtg. Ho., Bush Rd., E.11. Peace News Michaelmas Bazaar to be opened by Hugh Brock. Bring and buy stall, garden produce, hardware, grocery, Housmans bookshop, slipper stall, sweets, Christmas cards, refreshments, side-shows, puppet show, concert, etc. Leyton PPU, 60 Bushwood, E.11.  
YORK: Suez Protest mtg., John Baird, MP. MCF and York Labour Party.

**Sunday, September 30**  
CLAPHAM COMMON: 3 p.m.; Speakers' Ground. Arthur Willetts. Peace Pledge Union.

**Monday, October 1**  
ISLINGTON: Suez Protest mtg., David Wedgwood Benn, Cllr. Jo. Richards. MCF and East Islington Co-op. Party.

**Tuesday, October 2**  
LEWISHAM: Suez Protest mtg., David Wedgwood Benn, MCF and Park Ward N. Lewisham Labour Party.

**Wednesday, October 3**



Convention of 1888, also sent a letter to the Egyptian Government and Britain of 1954.

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**LONDON, E.C.2:** 1.15 p.m.; Church of St. Margaret's, Lothbury (behind the Bank of England). R. Ullmann, Assoc. lecturer, Woodbrooke Settlement. "Germany in Europe." National Peace Council.

**LONDON, W.C.1:** 7.30 p.m.; Dick Sheppard Ho., 6 Endsleigh St. Discussion with Young Liberals. Pacifist Youth Action Group.

**WEMBLEY:** Suez Protest mtg. Cllr. Jo. Richards, William Warbey, MP. MCF and Wembley Labour Party.

### Friday, October 5 to Sunday, October 7

**RUGELEY, STAFFS:** 8.15 Friday-Sunday evening; Spode Ho., Hawkesyard Priory. Catholic week-end on "Peace and War." Charge: £2 2s. (£1 10s. for students). Particulars from The Father Warden, Spode House, Rugeley, Staffs.

**Saturday-Sunday, October 6-7**  
**NEW BRIGHTON:** 5 p.m. Sat.-5 p.m. Sunday. Riverside Guest Ho., Holland Pk. Week-end conf. Leader: J. Allen Skinner, "The Third Way Movement." 18s. Bookings to Llew Lloyd, 25 Derwent Avenue, Prescott. N.W. Area, Peace Pledge Union.

### Saturday, October 6

**BRIGHTON:** 6 p.m.; Friends Centre, Ship St. "Christians and the H-bomb." Speakers: a Congregational Minister, a Baptist Minister, and a member of the Society of Friends. For.

**CROYDON:** 4-6 p.m.; Adult School Hall, Surrey Area Social. Children's Tea Party and Conjuror; Stalls and evening entertainment. Peace Pledge Union.

**EPSOM:** 7.30 p.m.; Myers Hall (behind Ebbisham Hall), Ashley Rd. "Any Questions." Panel: Ritchie Calder, CBE, James L. Henderson, Sybil Morrison, Minnie Palister, E. C. Redhead, MP. Chair, Austin J. Rees. Subject: "International Relations." Epsom and District Peace Fellowship, 55 Culverhay, Ashstead, Surrey.

**LEEDS:** 4 p.m.; Friends Mtg. Ho., Woodhouse Lane. Alec S. Horsley, MA, "Pacifism." Chair, Leonard Bird. Yorkshire Annual CO Re-union.

### Monday, October 8

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### Friday, October 12

**LONDON, W.C.1:** 7 p.m.; Conway Hall, Red Lion Square (nearest tube, Holborn). Gene Sharp, Series of eight consecutive lectures commencing with "What is non-violence? Forms of non-violent action." The Third Way and Pacifist Youth Action Group.

### Monday, October 15

**CHATHAM:** 7.30 p.m.; St. Paul's Ch. Hall. Film: "Children of Hiroshima." FoR and UNA.

### Friday, October 19

**STRATFORD - ON - AVON:** 7.30 p.m.; Town Hall, Sheep St. Programme of films on "Practical Peacemaking." Adm. free. FoR.

### Saturday, October 20

**LONDON, W.C.2:** Kingsway Hall, Kingsway. AGM of the Anglican Pacifist Fellowship, preceded by a service of Holy Communion at St. Martin-in-the-Fields at 11 a.m., when Canon Scrutton, Vice-Chairman of the Fellowship will preach, and Canon C. F. Harman will be the celebrant. APF.

### Monday, October 22

**WALSALL:** 7.30 p.m.; YWCA (Opp. Public Library). Film: "Children of Hiroshima." Fellowship of Reconciliation.

### Tuesday, October 23

**CANNOCK, STAFFS:** 7.30 p.m.; Trinity Methodist Sch. Room, Walsall Rd. "Children of Hiroshima." Film. FoR.

### Wednesday, October 24

**BIRMINGHAM:** 8 p.m.; Public Hall, Dudley Park Rd., Acocks Green. "Children of Hiroshima." Film. Peace Pledge Union.

### Thursday, October 25

**HARBORNE, BIRMINGHAM:** 8 p.m.; Baptist Hall, High St. "Children of Hiroshima." Film. PPU and FoR.

### Friday, October 26

**KINGS HEATH, BIRMINGHAM:** 8 p.m.; Ch. Hall, High St. "Children of Hiroshima." Film. Peace Pledge Union.

### Saturday, October 27

**LONDON, W.C.1:** 6-9 p.m.; Friends International Centre, 32 Tavistock Sq., Meeting of Area and Group representatives. PPU.

### Sunday, October 28

**LONDON, W.C.1:** 10 a.m.-12.30 p.m.; Friends International Centre, 32 Tavistock Sq. Meeting of Area and Group representatives. PPU.

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### MEETINGS

**EXHIBITION OF WATER COLOURS**, by Maier Rubinstein, Israeli war-resister and artist. Friends International Centre, 32 Tavistock Sq., Thursday, October 4, 12.30-2.30 p.m.

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### SATURDAYS

**LIVERPOOL:** 7.45 p.m.; Pier Head. Open-air mtg. Liverpool and District Peace Board.

### SATURDAYS AND SUNDAYS

**LONDON:** Weekend Workcamps, cleaning and redecorating the homes of old-age pensioners. IVSP, 19 Pembridge Villas, W.11.

### SUNDAYS

**GLASGOW:** Open-air mtg. Queens Pk. Gates, Victoria Rd. 7.45 p.m.; Glasgow PPU.  
**HYDE PARK:** 3 p.m.; Pacifist Youth Action Group. Every Sunday. PYAG.

### MONDAYS

**SHIPLEY:** 7.15 p.m.; Shipley Group in new premises in Labour Party Rooms, West-gate, Shipley.

### TUESDAYS

**MANCHESTER:** 1-2 p.m.; Deansgate Blitz Site. Christian pacifist open-air mtg. Local Methodist ministers and others. MPF.

### THURSDAYS

**LEYTONSTONE:** 8 p.m.; Friends Mtg. Ho., Bush Road. E.10 and E.11 Group. PPU.

**LONDON, W.C.1:** 1.15-1.45 p.m.; Church of St. George the Martyr, Queen St. Weekly lunch-hour Service of Intercession for World Peace. Conducted by Clergy and laymen of different denominations.

**LONDON, W.C.1:** 7.30 p.m.; Dick Sheppard Ho., 6 Endsleigh St. Pacifist Youth Action Group.



# Peace policy for Labour

support of the statement by last week-end are:  
**Frank Allaun** (Salford, East).

**Fenner Brockway** (Eton and Slough), Chairman of the Central Board for Conscientious Objectors and of the Movement for Colonial Freedom.

**George Craddock** (Bradford South), Chairman of the No Conscription Council.

**Ernest Fernyhough** (Jarrow).

**Leslie Hale** (Oldham, West), a member of the Standing Joint Pacifist Committee's Study Group on Disarmament.

**Emrys Hughes** (South Ayrshire), member of Board of Peace News Ltd. and Hon. Treasurer of the Peace Pledge Union.

**Walter Monslow** (Barrow - in - Furness), former organising Secretary of the Associated Society of Locomotive Engineers; Parliamentary Private Secretary to the Minister of Civil Aviation 1949-50, and to the Ministry of Food, 1950-51.

**Reginald Moss** (Meriden).

**John Rankin** (Glasgow, Govan), Chairman of Glasgow ILP 1925-38.

**Victor Yates** (Birmingham, Ladywood), Chairman of the Labour Peace Fellowship and a member of the Central Board for Conscientious Objectors.

Another significant endorsement of the policy statement is that of Professor G. D. H. Cole,

President of the Fabian Society since 1952, whose impact on the thought of the Labour Movement in developing the conception of Industrial Democracy was at one time so considerable.

These "Paragraphs for the Platform" are

## Ammunition for war on want

IN very restrained language, and without any reference to the futile wast on armaments, the UN World Economic Survey for 1955 (Econ. Dept. No. 1956, I.L.C.1.) extensively underlines the seriousness and urgency of assistance to under-developed countries.

Here are some facts gleaned from the Survey which Western statesmen are ignoring:

"Despite a record of unparalleled growth (of world production) the problem of mass poverty in a large part of the world remains as stubborn as ever . . .

"The difference in output and population is reflected in a striking disparity in per capita growth (of production). Whereas in the developed countries output per head has risen about 45 per cent since before the war, in the under-developed regions the rise appears to have averaged about 5 per cent.

"Under-developed countries characteristically suffer from unbalanced specialisation. They are highly specialised in relation to international trade, producing negligible proportions of the goods they import (i.e., daily necessities) and generally consuming negligible proportions of the goods they export (result of plantation and mining economies). Before balanced growth can be achieved, it may first be necessary to break the economic stalemate."

It is a mistake to believe that the establishment of air and naval bases in "poverty" areas (Morocco, Libya, Cyprus, Aden, Ceylon, Okinawa, etc.) will improve relations with the

### PEACE NEWS SALES CAMPAIGN IN E. LONDON

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# TWO WRONGS

*We must not imperil the work that is going on (in the Colonies) by giving way to clamour over Cyprus, or weakness over Suez.*

—Mr. Lennox-Boyd, Colonial Secretary, September 22, 1956.

*Unless there is a just system I do not think you can expect to go on forever asking people not to resort to force.*

—Mr. John Foster Dulles, Secretary of State, USA.

WHILE the movements of thought and action in regard to Suez have ebbed and flowed, and the threat of war has loomed and retreated, the execution by hanging of three young Greek-Cypriots was almost overlooked.

One of these young men had not even killed anyone; he had fired at two RAF men, and missed; "they escaped injury" is the phrase used to describe what happened. But he did not escape; he was "hanged by the neck until he was dead" along with two other compatriots.

It is evident that the British Government has no answer to the violence of the so-called "terrorists" than further violence, and this in spite of the fact that capital punishment in this country is suspended on account of the Commons vote for abolition.

THOSE who believe hanging to be a deterrent, and are prepared to take the lives of young men not inherently vicious, but driven by nationalistic emotion, and a sense of injustice and deep grievance; men who might have become eventually good citizens, and whose act of firing at soldiers would have been condoned and praised in war, may find that these executions will have the opposite effect to deterrence.

Anger and resentment are not emotions that can be damped down by fear of reprisals, but, on the contrary, are all too likely to be increased and exacerbated.

A pardon for these three young men would, in all probability have had an effect upon the population towards peaceableness that no regiment of marching soldiers with fixed bayonets could ever achieve. Mercy is not to be equated with weakness; it is always a strong and positive act of peace.

Mr. Dulles' words were not intended to apply to Cyprus, nor to Egypt, but if he is laying down a principle he must expect that principle to apply in the given circumstances anywhere.

## SERETSE

I think Seretse is very wise to accept this agreement because Chieftainship will become increasingly an anachronism as democratic institutions develop.

I would like to pay a tribute to John Hatch, Labour Party Commonwealth Officer, whose

If the Cypriots believe that government of their island by a British occupying force is not a "just system," then, according to the US Secretary of State, they should not be expected to refrain from the use of force.

In the same way, if Egypt should happen to believe that a system operated by some Association other than the Canal Company would not be a "just system," it is to be assumed that Mr. Dulles would understand if they decided to resort to force.

THE whole fallacy of the argument is revealed by the fact that those who advocate the need for force in the last resort, do not recognise any right to do so other than their own. It is to be condoned and understood if it is the Western Powers, but not if it is Cyprus or Egypt, Kenya or Malaya.

Justice and violence, in fact, are necessarily incompatible, for the reason that nothing at all can be decided by violence except which side is the stronger.

A war in Egypt, if it did not precipitate a world war, might overthrow Nasser and end in British troops once more occupying the Canal Zone, but it would not result in the Egyptians agreeing that the Western Powers were all along right, and Nasser all along wrong. Nor would the world be convinced of this.

The hanging of Cypriots does not prove the British Government to be right in their handling of the situation, but only that they are strong enough to perpetrate these useless and brutal acts of violence. To answer brutality with brutality merely emphasises the bankruptcy of thought, and lack of realism, that pervades the councils of the world today.

It is a platitude to say that two wrongs do not make a right; nevertheless it remains true. The disputes and tensions between nations today, which make a mockery of the whole conception of peace, will never be righted by perpetuating wrong.

War is wrong. It is necessary, therefore, first of all, to abandon war, for then, and only then, freed from the suspicions and the fears, the threats and the violence, will nations be enabled to sit down together to make peace a reality.

## NUCLEAR WAR

FROM PAGE ONE

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## U.N. PROCEDURE AND THE SUEZ DISPUTE

### What the Charter says

*In view of the fact that the dispute about the Suez Canal may be submitted to the Security Council it is useful to review the appropriate procedures laid down by the UN Charter for the settlement of disputes. The following summary was prepared for Peace News by Mrs. Jessie Street:*

ANY member of the United Nations may bring any dispute which threatens international peace to the attention of the Security Council. (Article 35.)

Any member of UN which is not a member of the Security Council if it is a party to the dispute SHALL be invited to participate but without vote in the discussion. (Article 32.)

The Security Council shall call upon the parties to settle their disputes by peaceful means of their own choice. (Article 33.)

If no progress is made and the Security Council considers that the continuance of the dispute endangers peace, the Security Council shall recommend to the parties appropriate terms of settlement. (Article 37.)

If agreement is not reached and the Security Council considers the dispute has developed so as to threaten peace, the Security Council may decide what measures, NOT INVOLVING THE USE OF ARMED FORCE shall be taken and call upon all member nations to apply such measures. These may include the blockade of the offending country or countries covering rail, air, shipping, port and telegraphs and the severance of economic and diplomatic relations, etc. (Articles 40 and 41.)

Should all these measures fail, then and only then, is the Security Council authorised to resort to action by air, sea or land forces. (Article 42.)

The Charter then lays down provisions for member nations to make available to the Security Council the armed forces required, and provides that "the Military Staff Committee shall be responsible under the Security Council for the strategic direction of any armed forces placed at the disposal of the Security Council. (Article 47.)

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local populace. They want economic—not military—assistance.

Moral and economic issues are interconnected. The contrast between the military expenditure of the West and their neglect of economic development in colonies and other "backward" areas must cause serious concern to all who have retained a sense of justice—and particularly to Christians.

The Treasury Bulletin for Industry, No. 83, April, 1956, gives the following facts on Britain's commitments regarding development:

"Loans under Colonial Development and Welfare Acts have been running at the rate of just under £20 million a year" (Population in British Colonies is over 70 million, they receive less than 6s. annually per head).

"Special credits" (i.e., not grants) "to Iran and Pakistan of £20 million under the Export Guarantee Act."

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The following statement of the Treasury is of historical interest:

"We have given assurances of support for the building of the Aswan High Dam in Egypt."

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I would like to pay a tribute to John Hatch, Labour Party Commonwealth Officer, whose visit to Bechuanaland a year ago opened the way to this settlement and to the Rev. Michael Scott whose friendship with Tshekedi has also contributed to the decision.

We wish Seretse and Ruth the very best for their new life and congratulate them on the opportunity they will have for the development of Bechuanaland.

### ACLAND

FROM PAGE ONE

because it was found that contributors were to give less next year than the year before.

Seven and a half million pounds was the gap between the actual budget and the sums which the Specialised UN Agencies could have usefully spent on their expanding programmes. I often wonder how high British influence and prestige might have stood today if we had then offered to bridge the gap, if necessary, alone.

The money so spent would surely have done more good than the almost equal sum which we have spent each year on Jordan's Arab Legion.

### Trailing behind Americans

It has been the same with SUNFED. We have trailed behind the Americans in finding cause to do nothing. How different if from 1952 we had every year urged the immediate establishment of the fund and pledged ourselves to pay our share of the proposed initial \$250 millions as soon as 29 others (with or without America) would do the same.

Is it an idle exercise to daydream about the probable shape of our present if only our past had been rather different? Perhaps it is. But then again, perhaps not. For if we could persuade a few thousands of good but

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We cannot tease and wound a tiger without making it angry.

The way to prevent the enemy from using the weapons that will spell total horror is not the engagement of the enemy with less horrible weapons but the renouncing of all atomic power for destructive purposes. Tit-for-tat cannot be regulated.

The tit will at each step be bigger than the tat until it reaches the total horror plane. Nations at bay cannot be expected to preserve sanity or consideration for others.

The side threatened with utter defeat will cease to be rational or normal.

### When nations face defeat

If what is sought to be done with milder explosives is effective defeat, the atmosphere created by all that must happen to reach that point, will be such that it is most unlikely that any restraining influence will be felt.

The angry enemy facing defeat and surrender, shame and disaster and the penalty of "war-crime," will not agree to it with self-restraint but would rather disappear taking along with its own disappearance millions of men and women on the opposite side and human civilization with it.

It is futile to try to devise ways of carrying on nuclear war without leading up to city-bombing. The monster whom the scientific nations have indentured for fighting their battles cannot be tamed to tactful requirements.

It is not as if the clever technicians at work in this new phase of research are aware of the futility. But they hope against hope and are blindly led by science.

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There is no provision in the Charter for any member nation to make reservations or conditions when bringing members before the Security Council.

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Instead of transferring capital for development, Britain is drawing on her colonies' dollar earnings.

"Since the war," according to the British Government's Treasury Bulletin No. 83, "liabilities to the colonies have risen sharply: the colonies have, in the last five years, built up their balances by £550,000,000."

Britain's re-armament programme, therefore, was partly carried out at the expense of the colonies as they are prevented from using their sterling balances in London for development.

There is no need to lower living standards in Britain in order to help the "have-nots." Drastic cuts in arms expenditure will be enough.

If the Trades Union Congress want to defend the jobs of those in the car and allied industries threatened by contraction they should examine the needs of 70 million potential customers in Britain's colonies. Through development and the raising of income levels (why are no wage statistics published on earnings in Africa?) the industries of Britain could be assured of long-term orders and stable employment for the workers concerned.

Research for above paragraphs by FRANCIS RONA, M.Sc. (ECON.).

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Is it an idle exercise to daydream about the probable shape of our present if only our past had been rather different? Perhaps it is. But then again, perhaps not. For if we could persuade a few thousands of good but puzzled citizens to join us in this exercise they would perhaps in future pay more attention to the hard-headed idealists who feel the great world currents of our times, and take less notice of the woolly-minded practical men who collapse at the sight of a short-term difficulty.

At any rate it seems to me a fairly safe bet that if the idealists had had more influence, we should not now be losing a game of international poker against a Colonel Nasser who seems to hold most of the good cards including a full house of Russian pilots.

the catastrophe.  
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It is not as if the clever technicians at work in this new phase of research are aware of the futility. But they hope against hope and are blindly led by science.

Science drives them, it is not they that drive science.

Satanic knowledge has acquired an inorganic soul-less will-power of its own which is irresistible. And so they are all absorbed in this vain chapter of research.

Much the better occupation would be to devise a way to summon the courage to take the initiative for unilateral renunciation of all nuclear weapons of any sort or type.

If this is not possible, let the nations devise steps for an agreement all round for such renunciation. It is not as if this last is impractical, for there is a definite offer from Moscow which has not been withdrawn and which awaits acceptance.

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**W. RISDON, (L & P Anti-Vivisection Society)**

**R. LIGHTOWER**  
(London Vegetarian Society)

**WIMBLEDON TOWN HALL**

**WEDNESDAY October 3, 1956 at 8 p.m.**

Questions on all aspects of animal welfare may be sent in advance to Mr C. Wye, 82 Lavington Rd., London, W.13, or may be handed in on the night to stewards in the Hall.